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DARNACH MOEGET IHR euch sicher darstellen Gott ihrem himmlischen Vater eine reine gottselige auffrichtige Gemeinde Christi, welche gereiniget ist durch sein Blut: damit sie heilig und unstraeflich waere vor Gott und den Menschen, und von aller Abgoetterey und Greuel abgesondert und entlediget: aufdass der Herr aller herrschenden in ihnen wohnen moechte, und sie Ihm ein Tabernakel waeren.

—Michael Sattler, May, 1527

. . . DASS IHR DER LIEBE nicht vergesset! ohne welche nicht mueglich ist dass ihr ein Christlich Haeufflein seyd.

—Michael Sattler, May, 1527

ACCORDINGLY MAY YOU definitely present yourselves to God your heavenly father as a pure, blessed, sincere Church of Christ which has been cleansed by his blood, so that you may be holy and blameless before God and men, and separated and freed from all ungodliness and wickedness, that the Lord of all lords may dwell in you and you may be his tabernacle.

—Michael Sattler, May, 1527

. . . O, FORGET NOT LOVE, without which you cannot possibly be Christ's little flock.

—Michael Sattler, May, 1527

From Michael Sattler's letter to the Church at Horb, written from his dungeon at Rottenburg as he awaited trial and martyrdom.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume 1 April 1927 Number 2

Editorial

MASS MIGRATIONS OF PEOPLES ARE NOTABLE EVENTS IN WORLD HISTORY. The shifting of entire populations with their religious and cultural heritage has at times been the decisive factor in the changing course of the history of a nation or continent. Such mass migrations as the so-called "barbarian invasions" of the fourth century after Christ which radically changed the course of European history, the mass migrations from western Germany into the (then) Slavic regions of eastern Germany, the unique mass migrations to the North American Continent in the last several centuries, stand out in the memory of even the schoolboy. Lesser migrations, often for religious causes, have likewise been significant: such have been migrations of groups of Jews, of the Huguenots, of the Salzburg Pietists, and of the Mennonites, migrations due in almost every case to the persecution of these groups by the political authorities due to differences from the established religion. Among the most interesting of these migrations have been those of the Mennonites, though perhaps of somewhat lesser significance in general history.

Of all the great migrations of the Mennonites, within the confines of Europe and from Europe to America, none has been greater in scope, or more difficult, and possibly more significant than the present major movement from Russia to the prairie provinces of Northwest Canada. In the opening article of this issue of the REVIEW, a picture of this great movement is presented. After a preliminary summary of previous major migrations, the author gives the background of the present movement in the experiences of the Mennonites of South Russia during the war and after, particularly under the present Soviet regime, following it with a description of the nature and extent of the present movement, the organization which is directing it, the method of financing, and settling. The extent of the present movement is revealed in the statement that already "over thirty thousand Mennonites have changed their national home", and that "by the end of 1927 more Mennonites will have taken such a step during the

preceding decade than was the case during the entire previous four centuries of history". It is not difficult to agree with the writer that it is very difficult at this time to estimate the effects of this movement on future Mennonitism, or even on the larger world in which the group moves. Their American brethren will watch with interest and sympathy the adjustments which the newcomers must make to their new environment and wish them divine blessing and guidance in their progress.

An interesting description of the smaller movement from Manitoba to Mexico and from the same region to Paraguay is added to the larger story. Here the movement has a different motivation, and one which may not seem as justified to many as the larger movement. Nevertheless it is of significance and historic interest. The movement to Paraguay is still on. Readers of the REVIEW may anticipate a thorough description of the movement as soon as the complete facts are ascertainable.

An attempt is being made to secure copies of the privilegia granted the Mennonite colonists by Mexico and Paraguay for later publication in the REVIEW.

The author of the article, Orie O. Miller, of Akron, Pa., has for years been closely associated with the movement which he describes. During the first stage of the relief program carried on by Mennonites in South Russia in 1920 he was Field Director. Since his return he has been almost continuously a member of the Mennonite Colonization Board, for a number of years as Vice-President, and has been active in soliciting the support in particular of the Mennonites of the Lancaster District in assisting to finance the work of that Board.

THE SEVERAL COLLEGES AMONG THE MENNONITES ARE ASKING OF THEIR constituencies in the various branches considerable sums of money. The funds they seek are to be applied to debts and deficits, to buildings and equipment, and to endowment funds. The sums asked amount to major figures. In the General Conference Mennonite Church a fund of one million dollars is being sought for Bluffton College, Bethel College, and Freeman Junior College. A similar fund is needed for the three schools in the Mennonite Church, Goshen Senior College, Hesston Junior College, and the Eastern Mennonite School, also a Junior College. The latter school is just now more concerned with funds for needed new buildings than with funds for endowment purposes.

As a contribution to the discussion of the problem of financing the colleges of the Church in a permanent way, the REVIEW prints an article from the pen of Paul Erb who has been intimately associated with Hesston

Academy and College as student and member of the faculty almost from its very beginning in 1909, and who is now Acting Dean of Hesston College. The discussion entitled, *Some Problems in Connection with the Endowment of Our Colleges,* is a valuable contribution to the solution of some of the practical problems which arise when the actual raising of endowments is undertaken. That these problems are real cannot be denied, and that they will be carefully considered by the soundly conservative constituency of the Mennonite colleges is not only true but just. Just as true is the fact, as indicated by the writer in his conclusion, that there are solutions to these problems which can be eminently satisfactory to this constituency. It is the obligation of those vitally concerned with the program to make these solutions known in a convincing manner so that a wholehearted participation in the meeting of the financial needs of the colleges may be assured.

It is scarcely questioned, at this date, that endowments are the only satisfactory method of adequately financing the strong, efficient small Church college. The amount of the endowment needed is practically standardized by experience. The amounts required for the three schools of the Church for all purposes frankly total approximately $1,000,000. This fact was already seen and the raising of such a sum advocated by Daniel Kauffman, the sometime President of Goshen College, and editor of the official church organ, the *Gospel Herald,* in his book, *The Mennonite Church and Current Issues,* published by the Mennonite Publishing House in 1923. The latest issue of the *Christian Monitor* brings a strong editorial from its editor, Bishop C. F. Derstine, urging a million-dollar fund and asserting the possibility of raising such a fund. That the Church has the resources cannot be doubted; that she has full confidence in her Board of Education and in the administration and faculty of her schools has been demonstrated. The money can be raised over a period of years by an intelligent presentation of the case to the Church. The Mennonite Church has never failed to respond to such a need when once clearly felt and thoroughly appreciated.

It need not be said that the discussion presented concerns itself more immediately with the three colleges of the main branch of the Mennonites and does not attempt a discussion including the situation of all other Mennonite colleges, although the principles presented are for the most part of general validity and application.

THOSE INTERESTED IN BUILDING A RATIONAL, PEACE-LOVING NATIONAL self-consciousness in America as one of the major factors in promoting goodwill toward other peoples may not always be aware of the tenacity

with which overblown pride maintains itself, a pride which in many ways is the essence of chauvinism. Some of the perversions of our history which have been perpetuated by this "False Patriotism" were described in the article bearing that name in the January issue of the REVIEW. In the second half of that discussion which appears in this issue Professor Hershberger points out by concrete illustrations the methods by which chauvinistic false patriots obstruct the progress of sensible, scientific historiography in America and describes an outstanding case of an attempt to revive the older semi-legendary type of history in a text-book designed for use in the schools. It need not be said that the author has no interest in attacking the producers of the book: he merely seeks to point out the error in fact and attitude and the consequent harm done to the cause of peace and goodwill by the insistence upon this type of history teaching in the schools.

THE COLLECTION OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA FOR THE SECOND instalment of the exhaustive bibliography of *Mennonitica Americana* which is being published by the REVIEW was much more difficult than for the first instalment. For the second period, 1827-1867, there are practically no pertinent bibliographies of any extent and the great standard bibliographies of Americana such as Sabine naturally know little or nothing about Mennonitica. No doubt considerable supplementary matter will be discovered in the future.

The general value of such a bibliography was pointed out in the previous number. Numerous expressions of interest and appreciation in regard to the project have been received. This second instalment will prove to be very interesting. The careful student will receive many valuable suggestions as to the currents of thought and interest among Mennonites in the first part of the nineteenth century by a simple perusal of the titles offered. A more detailed summary of the contents of the list will be found in the introduction to the bibliography in this issue.

THE JUBILEE HISTORICAL VOLUME PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTH GERMAN Mennonites in 1925 in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the origin of the Swiss Brethren (later called Mennonite) Church is the subject of the leading book review of this issue. Dr. Correll, whose own book *Das Schweizerische Taeufer-Mennonitentum* published in 1925 may be classed as a "jubilee volume", discusses the distinct contributions in this volume of essays in detailed appraisal. Readers of the REVIEW may expect similar discussions in review of all the recent Mennonite historical literature from the pen of Dr. Correll and other qualified historians. The careful review of Dr. Leander S. Keyser's valuable book *The Problem of*

Origins by Dean Chester K. Lehman will be appreciated by those who know of Dr. Keyser's able championship of the biblical world view.

THE JULY ISSUE OF THE REVIEW WILL CONTAIN A NUMBER OF THE following leading articles:

An Historical Survey of the Mennonite Position on Non-Resistance.
The Pacifism of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania in Colonial Times.
Source Materials for Mennonite History—
    The First Protest Against Slavery 1688.
    Early Letters of Recommendation for Transfer of Church Membership.
    Privilegia Granted Mennonite Immigrants by Mexico and Paraguay.
Mennonitica Americana III 1867-1907.
Christopher Dock.
Some Letters from Conrad Grebel.
The Mennonite World Congress at Basel.
Reviews—
    Two Recent Books on Hans Denck.
    Die Wiedertaeufer zu Regensburg.
    The Central Conference of Mennonites.

THE MATERIAL LISTED ABOVE IS BUT A PORTION OF THAT WHICH IS IN prospect for future issues of the REVIEW. There are a large number of books of recent date as well as of current publication which are of especial interest to Mennonites which will be reviewed. The source materials for Mennonite History which await publication will alone fill several volumes of the REVIEW. There are numerous themes of present interest to Mennonites which merit discussion. The pressure of material has forced the enlargement of this issue of the REVIEW to eighty pages, and required the omission of the "Short and Sincere Declaration" to the Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly of 1775 (a protest against military service) which was scheduled for this issue. It will appear in the July number. As the subscription list increases the publishers hope to be able to increase the size of the REVIEW substantially.

The October number of the REVIEW is to be a special Michael Sattler number in memory of the four hundredth anniversary of his martyrdom at Rottenburg, Germany in 1527. Sattler is one of the most appealing figures in the early history of the Swiss Brethren, perhaps the truest representative of the group. He is significant also as the author of the so-called Schleitheim Articles, the first statement of the principles of the Swiss Brethren.

The editors plan to present a critical edition of these articles together with an English translation. Other material will probably include the letter written by Sattler to the church at Horb and the eye-witness account of his trial and martyrdom. If space permits all the available source material on Felix Manz, the first martyr of the Swiss Brethren (January, 1527) will also be printed in the October issue.

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THE STATISTICS GIVEN IN THE LAST ISSUE FOR THE LEADING BRANCHES of the Mennonite Church in America need revision in so far as the Mennonite Brethren Church is concerned. Latest information indicates a membership of at least twice the 5,000 indicated. Recent immigration has swelled the number to 10,000, although the membership prior to this time was already at the 9,000 mark.

The Present Mennonite Migration

Orrie O. Miller

In this discussion the term "Mennonite" shall include all the various divisions and branches of the denomination. We have our differences, some deep-rooted and fundamental, others trivial and unessential, none of which are pertinent to our present subject. We also have our common faith and characteristics; these have had much more to do with our migration from country to country, from continent to continent. It has been my privilege to visit in Mennonite homes and to worship in Mennonite churches in practically every country (aside from mission fields) where Mennonites live. The list includes Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Canada, and Mexico, besides of course, the United States. The common emphasis of Mennonitism everywhere still includes a belief that the teachings of the New Testament were intended to be literally carried out as given. This brings with it a belief and practice in the doctrine of the Simple Life, the doctrine of Nonresistance and Brotherly Love, and others which might be noted. Throughout a history of four centuries this has been our faith and attitude. It has also been true that when Mennonites anywhere have been in distress, relief has come from all the other groups and divisions. This belief in the literalness of New Testament teaching, this practice and emphasis on simple, separate-from-the-world living, this conviction that under any and all circumstances love and not force shall be the Christian's only weapon in righting wrong or overcoming evil, this rallying to each other's aid whenever there is distress constitute what it seems to me are the main points on which all Mennonites have a common heritage. Some may question the consistency with which these principles are maintained by certain branches of the Church or by the Church in certain countries or by individuals or groups in all the branches, but such evidence or fact is again beside the point in this discussion.

Let us then with this background of the Church's common belief note its effect on past major migrations of Mennonites. It seems to me that this is necessarily introductory to a proper understanding and appreciation of the movement in process now. Roughly speaking there have been three major movements preceding the present one.

I. The first of these was the movement from Central Europe, including Switzerland, South Germany, the Palatinate, and Alsace, to the United States. In point of time this migration is divided into two parts, the first beginning about 1690 and continuing until the Revolutionary War, the second from about 1820 to 1860. During the former period,

settlements were first made in the present large centers, Franconia and Lancaster. During the second period such settlements as those about Berne, Indiana, Bluffton, Ohio, Fulton County, Ohio, Central Illinois, Wayland and Kalona, Iowa, were first made. Altogether from 7000 to 9000 individuals came over during the two periods. Through remigration their descendants have established communities in many other states all the way to the Pacific Coast and make up our own body, the various groups of Amish and Old Order Mennonites, the two eastern districts of the General Conference of Mennonites, and the Central Conference of Mennonites. The reasons for the immigration were partly economic; but more largely and especially in the earlier phases of the movement they came because of persecution in Europe, oppression, and the fear that the Church's attitude on nonresistance could not be maintained in the face of a growing militarism, and because of a desire to settle in communities where the simple doctrines could be maintained and taught to their children with freedom and in quietness. It is interesting to note that many Lancaster County Mennonites came to the United States on money loaned them by a Holland Mennonite Committee.

II. The second major movement was from East and West Prussia to South Russia and took place in the period from 1789 to 1840. Queen Catharine had just won this territory from the Turk by conquest, and offered very liberal inducements to German settlers to colonize there. The privileges granted to the Mennonites included freedom from military service, semi-autonomy in the government of their communities, and the right to have their own schools. A sense of oppression from neighbors and local rulers in Prussia who never could understand this peculiar folk and the fear that a growing Prussian militarism would soon lead to an entire nullification of their nonresistant privileges, formed the background of this movement. During the half century from 1790 on about 9000 individuals moved to Russia. From their descendants the Church in Russia had grown to a membership of almost 100,000 by 1917 in spite of what had been lost through the 1870 migration to America. Until 1870 the Church in Russia happily prospered, all the original privileges continuing in force.

III. The third major movement was from Russia to America between the years 1873 and 1880. About 1870 the Russian government began to manifest a disposition to Russianize the German colonists who had settled in the country almost a century earlier, but who still were as thoroughly German as when they came. What the Mennonites especially feared was the loss of their freedom from military service. Delegations sent to interview the Emperor failed to get much satisfaction. Hence, many of them

began to look for another country to which they might emigrate. A delegation of twelve was sent to America for this purpose. The father of Brother Tschetter, one of the workers at the Krimmer Brethren Mission at 2812 Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, was a member of this delegation and had an interview with President Grant during the trip. The delegation visited all our own western states and Canada. The report was evidently favorable for during the decade from 1870 to 1880 at least 15,000 migrated thither. Some of the smaller divisions in the Church in Russia came over bodily, among them those known as the Bergthal, Rheinland or Old Colony, Kleine Gemeinde, Sommerfelders, Holdeman, and Bruderthal. A large body of the others are now allied with the General Conference Mennonites, others make up the "Brueder-Gemeinde" and Krimmer Brethren divisions, while still another group had leanings towards our branch of the Church, but now maintains a conference of its own. Our Bishop P. A. Friesen in India comes from this group.

Again the main reasons for the migration were the same as in the previous movements and again Relief and Immigration Committees in Lancaster County, at Elkhart, Indiana, and at other centers gave substantial financial aid to the immigrants. They and their descendants prospered and most of them have since been very active in missionary and educational activities. The "Brueder-Gemeinde" branch today has the distinction of being the only branch of Mennonites in which that part of the Church built up through mission efforts outnumbers the home body in membership.

This brings us to the present movement which can be said to have begun with the close of the World War and which has hardly reached its peak yet. In point of numbers involved the present migration exceeds the sum of the other three. Already approximately 30,000 individuals have changed their national home. By the end of 1927 more Mennonites will have taken such a step during the preceding decade than was the case during our whole previous four centuries' history. Who can measure or estimate the effects of this movement on future Mennonitism, yea, on the world at large both Christian and non-Christian? Historians a century hence will undoubtedly appraise this present movement as epochal in our history as a people and as a denomination. One can only wonder at the purposes and plans God may have in it all.

The present movement we shall further discuss under three sections: 1. The movement from Russia to Canada, the United States, and Mexico; 2. The movement from Canada to Mexico; 3. The more recent movement from Canada to Paraguay which is just now getting under way.

To get the background of the present movement of our people from Russia we must go back to their experiences during the World War. First

of all they were German in language, custom, and blood in a country at war with Germany. For a short period of time (in 1917) the German army was in control in the region where most of the Mennonites lived. This naturally pleased many of them and led to indiscretions which the Church later regretted. Even then conditions were not any more serious than perhaps among us here also during the closing days of the war. This situation continued until the abdication of the Czar. While the majority of the Church maintained a neutral attitude during the period of Revolution and Civil War which followed this, it was only natural for their sympathies to be with the Anti-Soviet leaders who carried on the Civil War until the Soviets were finally established throughout Russia. What made their sufferings still greater was the fact that the war raged in the very section where were located the largest colonies. Typhus, brought into their villages by the quartered soldiers, took a fearful toll of lives. Their grain, horses, houses, and eatables were requisitioned and plundered by the roving armies. Their leaders were imprisoned and many killed on the slightest pretext or suspicion. Their young men finally decided that they could not endure the situation any longer and organized a company of Mennonite soldiers for self defense. (Later developments showed this to have been a most foolish course to pursue). After the Soviet government was finally in full control, surface conditions became better. But this was immediately followed by the famine of 1921 and 1922. The suffering during those years and the relief sent them from America are a familiar story to all.

The famine past, the Church turned to the task of adjusting itself to the policies in vogue under the existing Soviet regime. Many were hopeful that this could be done and felt it their duty to try it. But after their colonies were broken up, their land taken away from them, laws passed making it practically impossible for them to teach in their own schools, other laws making it illegal to give their own children any religious teaching in school or Sunday school, and with every influence from the government towards irreligion and atheism, is it any wonder that practically the whole Church hopes and plans to emigrate? The whole story of their suffering through persecution, oppression and famine would fill another Martyr's Mirror. Would not the past history of the Church, yea God's Word itself teach a "fleeing to other cities" under these conditions?

Already in the spring of 1920 their eyes were turned to America. When Brother C. L. Graber and I returned from our relief service in Syria, we met in Switzerland their delegation on its way to this country. This delegation made investigations in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. During this visit the present Colonization Boards in the United

States and Canada were organized. It was at once found out that any large movement to the United States was out of the question on account of our stringent immigration laws. About 500 did succeed in coming here however before the present quota law shut the door entirely. Canada thus seemed the logical destination for the migration. It has been due to the vision, the large faith, the patience, and the steadfast devotion of Elder David Toews of Rosthern, Saskatchewan that the movement has progressed as it has since then. It is from his various reports and papers that most of the data that follows is gathered. We might add here parenthetically that our personal confidence in the integrity of Brother Toews and his associates, and in the efficiency and business-like way in which they carry forward this program, has been fully confirmed as a result of a visit to the Rosthern headquarters of the Canadian Board several years ago and of personal investigation of their methods and work and of a constant touch with the Rosthern office since then.

Through the efforts of Brother Toews and his Committee during the summer of 1923 a contract was made with the Canadian Pacific Railway to transport 3000 Mennonites from Russia to Canada on a credit basis and at an average cost of about $140.00 per individual plus railway fare from port to destination in Canada. The nature of this contract is interesting. It is specifically worded so that no Canadian Mennonite congregation or conference or any individual immigrant or group of immigrants who benefit through its provisions can be held for failure to meet its terms. Only the Canadian Board of Colonization, which until a year or so ago was not incorporated and which today has no physical assets, can be held responsible. Not even the individual members of the Board have any financial responsibility in connection with it. The Canadian Pacific Railway has been willing during these years to extend a credit of more than a million dollars against the mere promise of a Mennonite Committee to pay. Since 1923 the agreements have not even been written. Colonel Dennis of the Canadian Pacific Railway said that in a half century's contact with Mennonite people the latter have never yet failed to make good their promises and that they anticipate no loss this time.

Many other arrangements had to be worked out before any large body of people could come. The Canadian government gave its consent only after getting assurance from the Committee that the new immigrants would go on farms and that none of them would become public charges. Besides this all immigrants had to pass certain medical tests. Out of the first 3000 who left Russia over 700 were refused admittance and detained in Germany and England. It had been arranged that the newcomers be quartered for the first winter in Mennonite homes in Canada. A number

of unforeseen difficulties and circumstances arose as the movement got under way, but the organization has been so perfected that today the Board looks forward to the arrival of 20,000 during 1927 with less worry and fear than was the case when the first 3000 came in 1923.

On July 21, 1923, the first long train carrying 609 of these immigrants pulled into Rosthern station. In two or three hours they were unloaded, registered, and on the way to their temporary homes. A similar-sized group was distributed in Manitoba about the same time and in the same manner.

During 1923 the total number of immigrants was about 3000 and the credit extended by the Canadian Pacific Railway was half a million dollars. In 1924 there seemed to be some hesitation on the part of the Canadian Pacific Railway to bring over another group because payments on passage had not come in from the previous year's group as had been expected. It was during that year that a loan of $50,000.00 was made up by the Church in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, another of $27,000.00 by the Ontario Church, and other thousands elsewhere including a $50,000.00 loan by a non-Mennonite in Canada by the name of Kaufman. After receiving these sums in addition to what was paid by the immigrants themselves, and noting the general interest in the movement, the Canadian Pacific Railway agreed to bring over 4000 more on a credit basis. The method of receiving and colonizing them was the same as the year before. It was during 1924 that our own people in Ontario gave active help to the work. Between 1200 and 1500 were quartered in their homes during the winter of 1924-25. Most of these are still in that province.

In 1925 another group of about 4000 arrived, the exact total for the first three years to January 1, 1926 being 11,245. The 1926 total was 5834. Many of those coming during the latter two years paid their own passage and many of the rest paid half, receiving credit for the other half. The exact total then to January 1, 1927 was 17,079. As noted before, arrangements have been made with the Canadian Pacific Railway for 1927 to bring to Canada about 20,000—7500 on full credit, 2500 on half credit and 10,000 paying their own way.

As stated before, the Canadian Board has promised the Canadian government three things for all of these immigrants: first, that none of them will ever become a public charge; second, that they will be taken in and sheltered; and third, that they will be put on land. In further explanation of the difficulties involved in carrying out points one and three above, let me quote verbatim from a paper read by Brother Toews at the recent Berne, Indiana, General Conference of Mennonites:

The second guarantee we had to give was to acquire land for our people. We could not get a general permit for so many without the promise on our part that we would arrange to get lands for these new arrivals. We counted on Canadian Pacific Railway land which can be bought on very favorable terms and at reasonable prices. Then also we had some prospects of getting the Old Colony villages from the people who wanted to go to Mexico. In order to get Canadian Pacific Railway land, however, it would have been necessary for the people to have some cash. There was no cash payment required, but they must have some money to buy the necessary equipment.

Several financial companies seemed to be interested in financing the purchase of the Old Colony land, but the negotiations along these lines were futile because the large sums required could not be made available. In fact, the great drawback in our immigration and colonization work is lack of funds.

Finally, however, a solution of this difficulty was also found. Canada had passed through very hard times, poor crops, low prices for farm products, high wages for farm labor. Farming on a large scale did not pay under these circumstances. When it became known that we had brought in a number of people who were to be settled on land, it was assumed by many that we or the immigrants had funds available and we got some offers of land. The negotiations, however, could not be brought to a successful conclusion because there was no money. Finally, however, in the spring of 1924, a purchase was made, and later on others were made the same season. At the present time we have about 250,000 acres of land purchased at an average price of $50.00 per acre fully equipped. The total purchase price amounts to about $12,500,000.00 The vendors build the necessary buildings and equip the farms as required by the contract. They receive one-half of the crop as payment. In fifteen years the whole purchase price is to be repaid. On Canadian Pacific Railroad lands we have settled about fifty families who had some funds and were able to avail themselves of this splendid opportunity. In all we have purchased lands for from 1800 to 2000 families.

As we did not have the money available to make the necessary inspection of lands, several attempts were made to get the Canada Colonization Association to come to our aid. The land company was established first by the government, the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and the Canadian National Railway who financed the association. First the government withdrew its aid. Then the Canadian National Railroad withdrew also. At the present time the Canadian Pacific Railway alone is financing this association on a non-profit-sharing basis. We finally succeeded in getting their cooperation in settling our people. In this way we were helped to finance our settlement work. We receive from the vendors commission contracts which we assign over to the Canada Colonization Association, as security for the sums advanced for our settlement work. Payment on the commission contracts are distributed over a number of years. The Canada Colonization Association makes the necessary advances for our settlement work. If there is a surplus, this is eventually to be paid to our Colonization Board and it is provided in the Charter that if there should be any surplus when our work ceases, this surplus is to go for benevolent purposes for the benefit of our settlers.

The third guarantee which we have to give to our Canadian government is causing us some worry. We have sick people in hospitals in different countries, in America and in Europe, in some cases far away from their friends. In the Augsburg Hospital in Germany there is a sick girl, the diagnosis reads "tuberculosis". A mentally and physically helpless young man is on the Lechfeld, his parents and a little sister with him, while four children are in Canada. In the Ueberseeheim in Hamburg there are nine afflicted with trachoma. In Atlantic Park there are forty from the years 1923, 1924, and 1925 also afflicted with trachoma. Then

there are 57 at Atlantic Park who have been temporarily rejected this year. In the infirmary at Southampton there are six suffering from tuberculosis and about ten in mental hospitals. For all of these we have to guarantee payments because otherwise they would be deported, and our work of getting people out of Russia would have to cease. We have to pay for operations and defray funeral expenses. All this gives us a big problem and it is particularly for these poor people that we ask for donations from different sources. Would it not be possible to take up contributions in all Mennonite Churches in order to help in this cause?

Still later word from the Board headquarters advises that so far about 70% of the 17,000 who have come in to date have been colonized. This method of colonization and the readiness with which outside people accept it is another remarkable evidence of faith in the name "Mennonite" and what it stands for.

One cannot as yet see through to the end of the present movement from Russia. The membership in Russia and Siberia before the war was said to be between 90,000 and 100,000. No doubt the loss through the famine and the shifting from place to place has been considerable. By this time about 20,000 have left Russia. It is doubtful whether more than 60,000 remain in Russia, over a third of whom plan to leave during the coming year. Beyond that one cannot predict.

It may be in order here to insert a paragraph in reference to that part of the movement from Russia that was diverted to the United States and Mexico.

The total immigrants into the United States before the passage of our present quota law was about 400. The movement was sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee and the Colonization Board, and financed by the Central Committee and the Eastern Board of Missions and Charities. These immigrants were all from the refugee camps in Constantinople and Batum. The group is now scattered throughout the United States. However, about 125 still live among our people in Lancaster County. On the whole the group is making good.

The movement to Mexico was started on account of the strict health tests required for entering Canada and was made up largely of those individuals and their families who failed to pass these tests. During 1924 about 300 entered Mexico, the year following several hundred more, and during 1926 about one hundred.

A colony was started in Chihuahua about 300 miles south of El Paso, Texas, and another near the city of Irapuato about the same distance north of Mexico City. Because of quarreling among the colonists themselves, trouble from thieving neighbors, etc., both colonies have had to be abandoned. Most of these people have gone on to Canada. A third colony was started about a year ago at El Trobel, Durango, which so far

is giving every indication of succeeding. Thousands of dollars have been sent to Mexico by our own Colonization Board in the form of relief and loans. With the encouragement given the movement to Canada by that government and the Canadian Pacific Railway coupled with the discouraging features in Mexico, any large movement to Mexico from Russia is very unlikely. The various Colonization Boards have always discouraged the immigrants from going to Mexico. About thirty-four families are there now.

To get the background of the recent movement of Mennonites from Canada to Mexico and the present one to Paraguay, one again needs to go back to the days of the World War. We have already made note of the various groups of Russian Mennonites who migrated bodily into Manitoba during the 1873-80 migration. Among these groups the largest was known as Rheinlanders or "Old Coloniers". Among the others we might again mention the Sommerfelders, Kleine Gemeinde, Bergthalers, Holdeman, and Bruderthalers. These groups differ slightly from each other but all are very conservative in customs, dress, and ways of living. Four-part singing, white collars for men, and automobiles are on the list of forbidden things. In many ways they are like our Old Order Amish brethren. The one distinguishing feature of all the groups however, is their insistence on the use of the German language exclusively in school, church, and community life. The privilege of conducting their own schools in German exclusively had been granted them by the Canadian government when they first settled. During the time of the war Canadian public opinion developed such a strong sentiment against allowing to develop within their nation such a large group of people who refused to learn the language or make any adaptation to Canadian ways, that the government was led to rescind this privilege. The new order required the teaching of English in the private schools. Schools refusing were closed and public schools provided instead. Penalty for non-attendance was a jail sentence or heavy fine for the parent. Many of these parents did both, since on the whole they steadfastly refused to give in. They felt that maintaining the German language provided the necessary safeguard against drifting into worldliness. During this time committees of investigation were sent to Mexico by these groups. There a location suitable for colonizing was found and purchased, a special privilege was obtained from the government granting the privileges wanted, and plans for the migration completed by the time the war ended. During the period since then, about 9000 individuals have migrated thither. The movement is about ended.

It was our privilege in December, 1924, to spend two days in this new colony in Mexico. Picture an oval shaped plain 30 miles long and 15 miles

wide, surrounded by a mountain range, with the railroad station at one end. Two years earlier this plain was mere grazing land. During the two years as if by magic, 24 villages were built and the surrounding land laid out in farms and fields. When we were there, we saw good roads, on them strings of wagons hauling grain to market, tractors and teams at work in fields, everywhere evidences of life, activity, and a rapidly-developing community life. One has to see in order to appreciate the size of this movement and what a change 5000 thrifty, hardworking folk can make in a country like Mexico. We met and talked with a number of these brethren.

One of these contacts will serve to illustrate some of their characteristics. This was with a young man we met in the bank at San Antonio, the railway station where the colonists came to do the little necessary business with the outside world. In the course of our conversation he said, "Great-grandfather migrated with his family from Prussia to South Russia via the wheel barrow method. Great grandfather lies buried in Russia. Grandfather with married sons and daughters came to Canada in 1873. Grandfather lies buried in Manitoba. Now father, an old man, has brought his family to Mexico where they are again starting over." One could not help asking, "Where next?" and the answer was a shrug of the shoulders, the attitude meaning, "Mexico only as long as we can here live out the principles we deem vital and essential."

One may not agree that the reasons for this migration were essential or even pertinent to the end the group has in view in it, but one cannot help admiring the disposition to sacrifice wealth figured in millions, to make the hard and trying adjustments to a new and strange country, climate, ways of farming, etc., for the sake of principle and conscience. Perhaps God in leading this group from land to land is using them in this way as a missionary witness for Him. I know that the Mexicans about them have been impressed with their example of thrift, simple living, and nonresistance, and have learned to admire their sobriety, steadfastness, and loyalty to their ideals of righteousness.

The largest settlement in Mexico is in the state of Chihuahua north of station San Antonio, which is located about 300 miles south of El Paso. Other smaller settlements are located farther south in the state of Durango. One perhaps should again mention that in the movement to Mexico the whole body of Old Colonists has left Canada and only a portion of the other aforementioned Manitoba conservative groups. The total population of all these special groups in Canada in 1914 numbered about 31,000.

The background of the movement to Paraguay is the same as that to Mexico. Here, however, the Sommerfelders are principally concerned and form the backbone of the migration, as did the Old Colony brethren in

the movement to Mexico.

A group of between two and three hundred representing the advance contingent of this movement passed through New York City early in December, 1926. Later word advises that this group was enthusiastically received and welcomed by high officials of Paraguay including the President of the Republic. The New York papers and several of our popular magazines such as "Time" and "Literary Digest" have recently commented editorially on the significance of this migration. The Inter-Continental Land Company of Winnipeg, Canada, is financing the scheme through which the land left by these people in Canada is taken in trade for land and equipment in Paraguay and passage thither. The land vacated in Manitoba is in turn sold to the incoming Russian Mennonites on the credit crop-payment basis. Just what size the movement to Paraguay will assume still remains to be seen, but it is not expected to approach in magnitude the one to Mexico.

This in bare outline and essential features brings the present migratory movement of Mennonites to date. To one who has given any study or thought to the results of similar movements in the past, the present movement assumes potentialities of vast significance to future Mennonitism. In the hardships and trials of the past have been sown the seeds of simple, rugged, steadfast character which has given us in these easier days a heritage and a faith which is priceless. The present active, aggressive, missionary, and educational enterprise of the Church has its roots in this disposition to flee, to suffer, to endure hardness, yea, to die if need be for a faith deemed vital and essential. Whatever aid and help we can give our suffering brethren at the present time either materially or otherwise, I am convinced will bear abundant fruit in time to come, in the more vital, active part these people can and will later take in God's Kingdom-building program. Yea, it will bear fruit in making our own faith richer and stronger. Often have I had the feeling when talking over with these brethren their present experiences and their recent past in Russia, that I am face to face with my own forbears of six or seven generations ago. It has given me a new appreciation of our heritage and present faith. It has even led me to pray, if in no other way this same faith and heritage can be preserved to those coming after us, that Providence may again visit us who are now living in quiet and ease and too much luxury with the fires of suffering, persecution, and affliction. Yea, much rather that our children and children's children prefer with Moses to suffer as children of God than to lose their faith through life's ease and pleasure or the things that minister to this life only.

Endowments for Mennonite Colleges

Some Practical Problems

Paul Erb

Higher education in America was born of philanthropy. All the colleges founded during the colonial period depended upon the gifts of people in the colonies or in England. A few of them received liberal grants from the colonial governments,, but in every case religious philanthropy was chiefly responsible for the founding and the maintenance of the college. The State merely contributed to denominational education. During the early national period philanthropy, directed by the churches, continued with unflagging zeal to found and maintain colleges. Because of the rise of the state universities, however, there was no more public support of denominational colleges. The late national period saw great advances in both state and denominational education. Great appropriations to the former challenged still greater gifts to the latter. Vast permanent endowments were built up, sometimes from single large fortunes, but usually from a great number of small gifts. Today more people are giving to education than ever before, and their gifts are larger than ever before. Education is the chief object of American philanthropy.[1]

Only within recent years has the Mennonite Church had a part in this development of educational philanthropy, at least so far as higher education is concerned. As beginners it is hard for us to think in terms of hundreds of thousands of dollars, as we are forced to do by the standards of modern education. We have come to face the financial problems of the church college in a day when higher education is very costly. Larger denominations than our own are likewise staggered by the stupendousness of these problems. There are probably more fundamental problems before us in our educational work than those of finances, but none are more insistent, nor more imperative of solution.

This brief historical survey should make it clear that schools of higher education cannot be self-supporting. They never have been. No apology is necessary. Any altruistic enterprise such as a school or a hospital, must limit its service until its very purpose is defeated if it is not to depend upon philanthropy for its maintenance and expansion. The only alternative is a prohibitive charge. Suppose our colleges should charge tuition sufficient to meet all expenses and provide for necessary growth. The junior colleges of the country spend, actually spend aside from original

1. Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education, 1922, No. 26, Ch. VI.

cost of the school plant, about $200 per student per year. The liberal arts colleges spend from $300 to $1000 per student, according to the grade of work and the ability of the college to pay large salaries. Add to these costs the original foundation cost and the expansion cost, and we should have a tuition rate that would reduce our clientele to the very rich. And we have so few of those that our schools would be empty. Moreover we wish to perform our service to the many who can scarcely afford even the nominal current rate. Let us agree confidently then upon the necessity of educational gifts.

Because of our recent entrance into the educational field, gifts to institutions of higher education in the Mennonite Church have been chiefly for buildings, equipment, and operating deficits. Immediate financial needs have been so pressing as to leave small opportunity for taking care of the future of the colleges by providing permanent endowments. Endowments now accumulated are a start, but only a start. Of the institutions under the Mennonite Board of Education, Goshen College has an endowment fund of about $15,000 and annuities amounting to $60,000 more. Hesston College and Bible School is endowed to the amount of $18,000. The Eastern Mennonite School, maintained by the main body of Mennonites, but not under the Board of Education, has no endowment. Of the colleges supported by other Mennonite bodies, Bluffton College endowments amount to $275,000. Bethel College has $200,000. Tabor College has $12,000, and Freeman College $40,000.

Modern standards of collegiate education have been definitely formulated by various standardizing agencies, representative of which is the North Central Association. To secure membership in this association a four-year college with 200 students must have endowment sufficient to yield $25,000 per year, or about $500,000. For a larger student body there must be proportional increase of endowment. A junior college of 200 students or less must have endowment yielding $10,000, or about $200,000. These figures show how very far short we are of the financial stability which is generally considered desirable, and indicate the immensity of the task which is before us.

Endowments seem to be the only method of adequately providing the money needed to operate colleges. Meeting deficits by going out every year to collect gifts and pledges is slow, nerve-wracking work, and must suffer from chance crop failures and business depressions. Some men feel that they can invest the principal to better advantage themselves, and prefer to pledge the income as an annual gift. This method has its merits, but must suffer also the chance of death and the possible difficulty of collection. Only endowments safely invested and yielding regular

income can be considered as really permanent resources.

Is it possible for the Mennonite Church to properly endow her schools? Have we sufficient money in the Church? Just as a problem in arithmetic there would seem to be no impossibility about it. Twenty dollars per member would meet every possible need. While we have few rich men in the Church, certainly we would give over a period of years that amount. Bro. Daniel Kauffman, certainly a man of conservative judgment, did not feel it was impossible.[2] We can do it if we will. The chief element of the problem must be our conviction of the need and our willingness to help.

It is encouraging to notice that this conviction and willingness is on the increase. During the last year gifts in large amounts came from brethren who were convinced that they were putting their money to good use when they helped to endow our schools. Perhaps never before has there been so much study put upon the problem as is going on at the present time. Last December the Executive Committee of the Board of Education appointed a committee to study the question of endowments. This committee will report at the next annual meeting, and endowments will no doubt be one of the chief subjects for discussion at that meeting. There is an evident intention to do all that the situation will warrant. This is a happy prospect.

At this critical and important moment there are a number of important considerations which demand the attention of everyone interested in this problem.

1. Plans for a financial campaign must consider conditions as they are. We are able, I have pointed out, to secure all the money we need on the important condition that we are willing to do it. But we should be very foolish if we failed to study carefully that condition, and any plans which do not take into consideration the results of such a study are foredoomed to failure. If it becomes evident that there is within the Church any considerable opposition or indifference to the cause of church education, there remains no course but to modify our plans and expectations in accordance with the facts. We should not attempt, that is, what common sense tells us will not be accomplished. Every attitude, every opinion, every viewpoint on the matter in the Church has its significance. And while it is good and even essential to make plans and crystallize sentiment which will ultimately bring about a fully standard endowment for our Colleges, the goal for any mmediate effort should be within the limit of reasonable expectation. Failure to reach a goal which has been set always leaves a bad situation for later effort.

2. Kauffman, Daniel. *The Mennonite Church and Current Issues* (Scottdale, 1923), pp. 132, 133.

2. Gifts to our schools must come from a glad conviction that such giving is right. "I want nothing to do with a campaign where money comes so hard and with such personal pressure that the people who have given are a bit irritated that they gave so much, or gave at all. No campaign is a success that does not leave every giver in the mood that he is glad he gave and wishes that he could have given more."[3] And in this same article Bishop Lawrence says: "I dislike the word 'campaign' in this connection almost as much as I abhor 'appeal'. 'Campaign' suggests force or pressure, methods whereby people are dragooned to give. 'Appeal' suggests a call upon the sympathies and emotions of people, melting them to give. Both methods are weak and liable to bring reaction; but as no other words have been invented to meet our ideas, we must use them." Certainly we need not use the word "drive". The word is almost as objectionable as the method it suggests. If the money must come by drive or by pity, it had better not come at all. If support does not come readily and willingly when the facts are presented, if the cause cannot stand upon its own feet—let us look to the facts; let us examine the validity of the cause, not abuse the unwillingness of our people.

3. The next point follows naturally: the schools must by their influence, their work, their product create this conviction. Trite, perhaps, this is, but true and tremendously important nevertheless. The Church will pay for what it wants, and it will want what is of proven value. This is human nature; it is shrewd business sense; and it is also a fundamental religious responsibility contingent on Christian stewardship. Are the schools proving their worth to the Church in faithful teaching of the principles of the Gospel as upheld by the Church, in the training of efficient and loyal workers for the Church, in performing the peculiar task for which the Church has founded them? Here is the crux of the whole matter. For our people as a whole it is the supreme issue. Upon our colleges, upon the men and the bodies responsible for their policies and conduct, falls the burden of proof. Facts, demonstrations, clear as daylight and not to be contradicted, they must bring. They have the floor and may speak; if they do not speak convincingly, their cause falls by its own inherent weakness.

4. The value of endowments to the Church must be guaranteed. The Church may well know what she is about before she hands over in perpetuity large sums of money for education. As the Brooklyn Eagle has remarked editorially, "One of the most difficult problems on earth is the use of cash in large amounts so as to be sure of helping rather than of

3. Lawrence, William. "An Invigorating Avocation". *Atlantic Monthly*, 132:319, September, 1923.

harming humanity. Deliberation in reaching even a tentative solution of this problem is always advisable." Danger is inherent in the theory of endowments, for here is money to be spent by one who did not earn it. And that which costs us no struggle too often is lightly valued. As Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, head of the Carnegie Foundation, has put it, "Somebody must sweat blood with gift money if its effect is not to do more harm than good."[4] And this is particularly true where the good aimed at in the endowment is a spiritual good.

There would seem to be real grounds for fears that the money the present generation is giving for the furtherance of gospel truth and the welfare of the Church may ultimately come to be used for vastly different purposes. Note the following cases: Mount Holyoke, in Massachusetts, was founded by Mary Lyon as an institution which should be "perpetually Christian". Today Laura Wild, professor of Bible in that college, calls the first chapter of Genesis "an old mythical tale worked over by a later writer and put into the form in which we now read it."[5] Henry Durant, the founder of Wellesley, placed in the corner stone of the building these words: "This building is humbly dedicated to our heavenly Father with the hope and prayer that He may always be first in everything in this institution, that His Word may be faithfully taught here and that He will use it as a means of leading precious souls to the Lord Jesus Christ." Eliza Kendrick now teaches a required course of Bible in this college. She teaches that "the story of Jesus' birth is not authenticated, that the feeding of the 5000 and Christ's walking on the sea cannot be taken literally, and that possibly . . . belief in the resurrection is groundless."[6] Dr. Taylor founded Bryn Mawr with the wish "that it should teach an evangelical Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament." Today the ultra-modernist, James H. Leuba, teaches its students that "the result of prayer can be said to be a 'divine answer' only at the risk of utter confusion."[7] "I have come to hold," he says, "that the modern belief in immortality costs more than it is worth."[8] At the first meeting of the trustees of Vassar College, Matthew Vassar insisted that the training of their students should never be entrusted to the skeptical or the irreligious. Professor Durant Drake of this college says: "In the Buddhist Scriptures are many passages more truly inspired than the less inspired parts of our Bible."[9] And when we remember that modernism became dominant in

4. Quoted by Young, James C. "The Dead Hand in Philanthropy". *Current History*, 23:842, March, 1926.
5. Wild, Laura H., *A Literary Guide to the Bible* (New York, 1922), p. 65.
6. Greenway, W. B., *The Camel's Nose in the Church's Tent* (Chicago Book Center), p. 20.
7. Leuba, J. H., *The Belief in God and Immortality* (Chicago, 1921), p. xx.
8. Ibid., p. 290.

Mennonite education in Europe, and that it has reared a threatening head among us in America, we will not wonder at the fear and caution of our people.

One deterring influence in the matter of endowments is the obvious truth that it is dangerous to make the schools independent of the approval and support of the Church. It is probably a quite general feeling that the schools ought to be relieved of a depressing and wholly discouraging poverty, but that their continued life must remain constantly dependent on the willingness of the Church that the colleges should live. Only thus can the Church be assured of that study of her wishes which will make the schools truly deferent servants. It is good for the college men and the members of the Board of Education to get out among the people to get their point of view, and it is good for the congregations to get an occasional whiff of academic breeze from the college. There is a bond here which it would be too bad to sever.

As a matter of business, too, the donors should be assured that money given for endowment will be used for that purpose, and that it will be so safely invested that its use for the specified purpose shall be perpetual. There must be a responsible organization which will control the investment and use of all funds. This control must be most conscientious. "An altruistic enterprise cannot be slipshod with gifts of any sort. Scrupulosity is the rule. No one should be expected to give to any cause, church, school, hospital, where the accounting is careless or obscure. The absolute sacredness of public funds, however small and handled by persons however honest, must be upheld by systematic auditing. Cheerful giving languishes or turns to other fields unless the receiver be . . . scrupulous."[10] In this connection a few sentences from the constitution of the Mennonite Board of Education may be of interest. "Endowments and annuities, together with all bequests, gifts, and other property given for our schools shall be held in trust for the Board by three trustees appointed by the Board for each school. Endowments and annuities shall be invested upon the advice and authorization of the Local Board and approval by the Executive Committee of the General Board. All bequests, gifts, and other property donated for any school and held by the Trustees shall be administered by the authorization of the Local Board in accordance with the wishes of the donor. In the absence of any specifications by the donor the property thus donated shall be used where in the judgment of the Local Board it will serve the best purpose in the Cause of Christ and the

9. Quoted by McPherson, G. W., *The Crisis in Church and College* (Yonkers, N. Y., 1919), p. 7.
10. Drury, Samuel S., *Schoolmastering* (New York, 1926), p. 191.

Church."[11] The Board has thus provided protection and assumed responsibility for the gifts of the Church to education. There is no just reason for fear here. The Board of Education deserves the same confidence as the Board of Missions and Charities.

5. But in our caution the extreme of the "dead hand" must be avoided. It is possible to so clutter up our gifts with conditions as to greatly hinder those who are to use them in later years. While it is not only good but also obligatory upon Christians to provide for the Christian use of their money after they are dead, yet this right must be used with great care lest we defeat our own purposes. The limitations of human foresight operate powerfully here. We simply cannot foresee conditions many years hence, and with the best of intentions we may seriously blunder. Very much to the point is this exhortation of Ruskin: "When we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for the present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for."

During the last fifteen years more than $2,000,000,000 have been given to various endowments, and gifts amounting to millions have become quite common among the wealthy of America. Such gifts as those of Duke to Trinity College ($80,000,000) and of Hershey for an orphan's home ($60,000,000) have aroused much discussion. Many students of affairs consider some of these large endowments futile and a social burden. I quote at length an amazing illustration of the dead hand in giving: "If ever a man lived who might have been expected to distribute his surplus wisely, that man was Benjamin Franklin. Although we cannot challenge his wisdom of purpose in drawing a somewhat famous will, it is enlightening, if not startling, to learn that several thousands of pounds which he set aside for the benefit of posterity are now inactive. Even the needs that Franklin sought to meet no longer exist. . . . . Here is an excerpt from his will which continues in effect: 'I have considered that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens. . . . To this end, I devote 2,000 pounds sterling; 1,000 to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and the other 1,000 to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust. . .

" 'The said sum shall be managed under the direction of the Selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches, who are to let out the sum . . . at 5 per cent . . . to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a

11. Art. VIII, Sections 4 and 5.

good moral character from at least two respectable citizens who are willing to become their sureties. . . . These loans are not to exceed sixty pounds to any person. . . .

" 'If this plan is executed without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be 135,000 pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, 100,000 pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient for its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining 31,000 pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, for another hundred years . . . . . At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be 4,061,000 pounds sterling, of which I leave 1,061,000 pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and 3,000,000 to the disposition of the Government of the State. . . .

" 'All these directions . . . I would have observed respecting that gift to the inhabitants of Philadelphia. . . . And, having considered the covering of a ground plot with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use . . . I recommend that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the . . . city employ a part of the 100,000 pounds sterling in bringing, by pipes, the water of Wissihicken Creek into town, so as to supply the inhabitants.'

"We need little imagination to call up the benign Franklin, sitting in his easy chair with lids half closed, peering far, far into the shrouded future, when his foresight would assure pure water for the coming citizens of Philadelphia. But the outcome has proved far different from the plan. In Franklin's time a loan at 5 per cent., as set down in the will, was uncommon. Small borrowers paid usurer's interest. In time the 5 per cent. rate actually became higher than the interest charged by other institutions for similar purposes. So the Franklin rate was reduced by court decree to 4 per cent. and other changes permitted that again made the fund active.

"No borrowers have appeared in thirty years. The real cause lay not in the interest rate, but the fact that indentured apprentices long since dropped out of the economic scheme. How astonished Franklin would have been if some one had whispered in his ear on the day he write his will

suggesting there might not be an apprentice a hundred years hence to enjoy his bounty. But no voice revealed the future to the good Franklin, so he wrote his will as many a man has done before and since, in the light of his own knowledge, and left the rest to destiny. In Franklin's case destiny has not served him badly, even if the full measure of his hopes never can be realized. In 1890, at the end of the first hundred-year period, the Philadelphia fund amounted to about $90,000 instead of the $650,000 that Franklin anticipated, computed on a basis of continuous loans virtually involving the whole capital. But indentured apprentices disappeared and his money remained dormant.

"Endeavoring to carry out the donor's intentions, the Philadelphia authorities divided his $90,000 in the proportion of 100 to 31, and this money went into the construction of the Franklin Institute, construed to be a "public work". The remaining $20,000 has increased until it represents about $70,000, after a third of the second century. This is a faster rate of growth than in the first century and it may be believed that the next distribution will involve a quarter million dollars. Finally, it may be noted, the city could not pump "into town" the waters of Wissihicken Creek, as that streamlet long since practically dried up."[12]

Another interesting example is the John Edgar Thompson School, "endowed some forty years ago by a President of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He looked with pity upon the daughters of railroad workers killed in service, and determined to found a home where they should have a fair chance in life. . . . But the science of railroad management improved. Accidents were reduced. Hence there were fewer and fewer girl orphans eligible for admission. The terms of the Thompson will could not be changed. The home became so bereft of orphans that it advertised extensively for charges. But the national publicity brought only twelve orphans."[13] This makes one wonder whether, by some change in social conditions, the Hershey orphanage endowment might some day be lying idle, bound by the dead hand of its generous donor.

Many similar cases exist. There is conceivably a real danger, therefore, that even educational endowments may become more or less useless because of hampering conditions attached to the gift. Security against misuse there must be, but such security must be broadly conceived. Perhaps it would be safest to give the control into the hands of such a perpetual organization as we may have confidence will be best able to interpret our wishes under any changing conditions. The following form, for example, is taken from the contract by which an endowment gift was recently given

12. Young, James C., *op. cit.*, pp. 837-839.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 840.

to one of our colleges: "In the event the above named . . . College should cease to be conducted in full harmony with the doctrines, standards, and practices of the Mennonite Church as interpreted and promulgated by the Mennonite General Conference, the above donation . . . shall be surrendered by the said . . . College and paid into the treasury of the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities to be applied according to the pleasure of said Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities." This would seem to be a wise conditioning of a gift, avoiding alike the extremes of unqualified giving to an institution which might apply the funds contrary to the original intention, and of affixing conditions and mandates which might become obsolete and meaningless in future times.

6. The Mennonite Board of Education is the organization best fitted to secure, invest, and administer endowment funds and incomes; and this body should both bear the responsibility and receive our confidence. It has constitutional authority to do this. "Endowments and annuities given to the Board shall be held, if not specified for any institution, by the Treasurer of the Board. The Treasurer shall, with the advice and authorization of the Executive Committee, invest the endowments and annuities. Annuity interest shall be paid regularly until the death of the annuitant or until such annuity is released, after which the annuity shall be disposed of according to the wishes of the donor; and if no conditions have been attached it shall be placed into the general endowment fund.

"All bequests, gifts, and other property donated to the Board, and not specified for any institution, shall be held by the Treasurer of the Board. In the absence of any specifications by the donor the property thus donated shall be used where in the judgment of the Board it will serve the best purpose in the cause of Christ and the Church."[14]

There are no doubt justifiable reasons for contributing to the support of one school or another. And for reasons of special loyalties and of a feeling of a local need it will no doubt be profitable to continue to receive endowments for individual schools, to be held in trust for the Board by the Trustees of the school, and to be used for the work of that particular school only. But it seems to me that it would aid in the development of a unified program of education in the Church if the majority of our endowments were unspecified, given to the Board for investment, and empowering the Board to use the income wherever in their judgment it would be used to the best advantage and the greatest value for the Church. Then the hands of the Board would not be tied if changing needs made advisable a changing emphasis in education, or a shifting of resources from one school

14. Constitution, Art. VIII, Sections 2 and 3.

to another. It is possible, too, that this arrangement would make it easier for the Board to exercise its just right of control over each of our schools.

From the nature of its organization the Board is certain to be very sensitive to the opinion of the Church. Most of its members are elected every year by the various conferences and may safely be assumed to be representative. At least in recent years the conduct of the business of the Board has been such as to inspire confidence in its ability to handle the situations which may arise. If there has ever been, there is no longer a dearth of men in the Church who have insight into educational problems and sufficient business and executive ability to insure the integrity of the Board. We have boards which handle with admirable efficiency affairs missionary, charitable, and publishing. Are educational problems so different that we cannot succeed here?

The endowment of Mennonite colleges, however we may qualify the matter, is an immediate need. It involves giving over to the control of the Board of Education a considerable sum of money, the income of which is to be used to perpetuate the ministry of our colleges to the Church and to humanity. There are risks involved. But there are also great opportunities. To seize the opportunities we must take the risks. But how great are the risks? This question brings up another: How much confidence can we have in the Church of the future? This is after all the final issue. For in endowments we are simply laying the financial foundation for the work of the Church in future generations.

Now the utmost of my hope and faith is in God, my Father, and in Jesus Christ, His Son, my Saviour. Here rests the assurance of my salvation and my eternal well-being. My thoughts for the future concern chiefly the eternal prospects of the life beyond this. But unless Christ's coming should intervene, there will continue to be human functioning here on earth after I am gone. What of our Church then? Just this: the very highest of my human hopes are in the Church of the years to come. No institution of society has surer foundations. None is more far-reaching in its influence, more related to permanent human needs. It is founded upon the enduring, never-changing Word of God. It ministers to that which will never die in man—the soul. If I cannot trust the Church of the future, what can I trust? If the Church cannot use my money to God's glory, who can? Is not this the very safest risk that I can take with my money?

God will have to the end a people for His Name, true to His Word. I hand on to the next generation both truth and the means for its propagation. What better could I do?

False Patriotism

II.

Guy. F. Hershberger

That the more recent writers on American history have shown a tendency to forsake this thoroughgoing nationalistic point of view and to present the story of our country and of the men and women who made it, more nearly in the light of historical accuracy is certainly an indication of progress in American historiography. Scholars thoroughly trained in the methods of historical research have been investigating many hitherto untouched sources with painstaking care. The result has been the discovery of a mass of new information which must necessarily bring a revision of our interpretation of some of the events of our country's history. It has been found that the fathers had their weaknesses as well as their strong points. The historical documents have revealed that England was not so tyrannical in the days of our colonial history as she has been thought by some to have been. Moreover, it is certain that the colonists on the other hand, did not always act the part either of sages or of saints. Furthermore, scholars have learned that if our nation's past is to be adequately interpreted and if our present civilization is to be clearly understood, the social, the economic, the religious, and the cultural phases of American life must be given recognition along with the political and the military.

That this newer point of view should have its influence on the writing of American history text-books was to be expected. With the work and the influence of such scholars as Professors Schlesinger, Muzzey, Andrews, McLaughlin, Dodd, Van Tyne, Osgood, Becker, and a score of others it would seem that in a short time the old nationalistic jargon and false patriotism should be altogether omitted from our school histories and the American public eventually set straight on some of the more fundamental facts of our country's history. In fact, this very thing has been taking place. The stories of our heroic personages and events are being told in more moderate language, and phases of our civilization other than the military and political are receiving recognition, with the result that our school histories have been much improved in recent years.

But, unhappily, it is not given to the historian alone to determine what are the facts of American history nor what should be the character of the tale which is told between the covers of a history text-book. For no sooner did the newer point of view begin to trickle down into our elementary and high school histories than there arose a cry of protest on the part of numerous patriotic individuals and patriotic societies throughout the country.

Perhaps in this case as in that of so many other events which have transpired in recent years the World War is to blame. If American nationalism had gone into a more or less dormant state previous to the War, it was destined to a sudden awakening, and as soon as the defenders of America's incomparable grandeur were able to get their bearings there began a thoroughgoing investigation to determine whether the rising generation was being properly nurtured in the patriotic lore of our country. Much to their chagrin it was discovered that in the more recent school histories the old one-sided presentation of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 had been displaced by a newer version which they chose to characterize as decidedly pro-British in its tone. Frantic attempts were made to find an explanation for the new turn which affairs had taken and it was discovered that the pro-British viewpoint from which our more recent histories were written was the direct result of a pernicious propaganda which was being carried on by an "elaborate and admittedly well-oiled British propaganda machine, established in our country by Sir Gilbert Parker and the late Lord Northcliffe", and by a dozen other vicious organizations of like character. These propagandists are charged with the promotion of various aims ranging from the cultivation of "more friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States" to the accomplishment of "the reunited state, the British-American Union" and "the recovery of the United States as an integral part of the British Empire". The author of the British-American Union plot was found to be none other than our own Andrew Carnegie, while that of the recapture of the United States by Great Britain is the noted Englishman Cecil Rhodes.[39]

One of the first to call to the attention of the American public in a large way this alleged presence of pro-British propaganda in our school histories was Charles Grant Miller who, beginning in 1921, published in the Hearst Newspapers a series of articles which were later published in a pamphlet entitled, *Treason to American Tradition; the Spirit of Benedict Arnold Reincarnated in United States History Revised Text-Books.* Since then numerous patriotic associations have taken up the work, passing resolutions, making investigations, and attempting to regulate and control the teaching of history in schools throughout the country. The New York State Department of the Grand Army of the Republic in annual encampment, June 7, 1922, adopted the following resolution:

> Whereas, The sympathetic teaching of true American history in the educational institutions of our country is essential to the retention and strengthening of our patriotic spirit and ideals; and
>
> Our nation's true annals have been unfailing sources of pride and in-

39. David Hirshfield, *Report on Investigation of Pro-British History Text-Books* (New York, 1923), p. 63.

spiration which have promoted us as a people to staunch character, unparalleled achievement, and unprecedented prestige among the powers and to world-wide influence in liberation and elevation of mankind;

Resolved, That we condemn as unfit for school use or teaching any history text-books or other books, plans, pictures or persons which defame our nation's founders and defenders, misrepresent the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed, or misinterpret the principles and purposes upon which our Republic was established and for which it has stood.

We demand that our annals be preserved unimpaired as the rightful heritage of posterity, and as guarantee that the future of our Nation shall be as glorious as its past.

We demand that our Nation's true history be presented to rising generations with a view to wholesome cultivation of patriotic spirit, solidarity and morale, based upon right conceptions of the doctrines and traditions of American democracy.

We protest against any school or other teachings which advance class interest, create class distinction or inculcate class hatred.[40]

The Sons of the American Revolution, another patriotic society, adopted unanimously at their National Congress, May 15, 1922, a resolution of similar character in which they include a paragraph giving specific instruction regarding the authorship and contents of a desirable history: "Textbooks on American history should be written only by those who are in sympathy with the principles for which our forefathers fought. Every such history should adequately stress the story of the American Revolution, portray in colorful outline the heroic incidents of the struggle and teach the priceless value of the institutions which we inherit from our forefathers."[41]

Resolutions similar to these were adopted by numerous patriotic societies throughout the country such as The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, The New Jersey State Council of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, The State Council of Pennsylvania Order of Independent Americans, The National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, etc. These resolutions together with a tremendous amount of active propaganda which accompanied them were bound to bring a certain amount of response which generally took the form of investigation and censorship of text-books and of teachers. Dr. Bessie L. Pierce of the State University of Iowa, in a book recently published by Alfred A. Knopf, entitled *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History,* presents a thorough and exhaustive study of this question.

Perhaps the outstanding example of such propagandist activity is that of the city of New York where so much pressure was brought to bear that a committee was appointed in October, 1920, by Superintendent of Schools William L. Ettinger, to investigate the alleged pro-British histories in use

40. Quoted in Hirshfield, *op. cit.,* p. 72.
41. Quoted, *op. cit.,* p. 71.

in the New York schools. This committee in its report of January, 1922, of active propaganda, but did report that frequently the heroic instances of failed to substantiate the charges that the histories were written as a result our country's history were not sufficiently stressed and that in many cases the authors of books failed to recognize the making of good citizenship as one of the determining factors in the selection of material for their books. Of course, what the committee really meant was that in these books there was not found exhibited the drum and trumpet type of patriotism which those interested in the investigations wanted.

Of greater publicity, however, than the investigation of the committee appointed by Superintendent Ettinger, was the investigation undertaken by David Hirshfield, Commissioner of Accounts of New York City. On December 6, 1921, Mayor John F. Hylan requested Commissioner Hirshfield to make a thorough investigation of the entire matter and report his findings upon the completion of the work. The report was made on May 25, 1923, and published as the *Report on Investigation of Pro-British History Text-Books in Use in the Public Schools of the City of New York.* According to the report, Hirshfield held five public hearings from February 3 to April 18, 1922, to which those interested were invited. There is attached a list of twenty-one names of persons who appeared at the hearings and testified against the books in question. On this list are found the names of Charles Grant Miller, the author of *Treason to American Tradition*, and various representatives from such societies as the American Legion and the Sons of the American Revolution; but the name of not a single historian can be found on the entire list.

In addition to the conducting of public hearings, Mr. Hirshfield tells us that he read and examined the histories complained of and also did "extensive research work". The report, which is a result of his examination and research, is all that the most patriotic of false patriots could wish. The "research" work was evidently done in the most patriotically orthodox of historical "sources". Five American writers (Bancroft, Higginson, Hildreth, Lossing, and Fiske), all of the nineteenth century, are quoted as authorities in the settlement of disputed points. As a result of his work, Mr. Hirshfield found that, according to appearances, the "standard American school histories have been largely supplanted in the New York City public schools by eight texts recently revised, so far as they relate to the Revolution, the War of 1812, and other Anglo-American differences."[42] He then proceeds to inform the mayor what should be the purpose of history teaching: "The prime essential of history-teaching to our children is to inculcate wholesome appreciation of the heroes, ideals, and achievements of

42. Hirshfield, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

our country's past and to stimulate right aspirations as to its future. The teaching to American children of the revised and much-complained-of history text-books can have but one result, and that is to depreciate American patriotic thought and degrade national spirit."[43] In regard to the American Revolution he tells us that, "In every school history, the story of the American Revolution ought to be told with emphasis on the righteousness of the cause for which our forefathers fought."[44] Furthermore it is our solemn duty to defend the sacred name of the fathers on every point in which the historians of the present day might find occasion to question the wisdom or the righteousness of their course of action. Hirshfield reminds us that, "The men of the Revolution are no longer here to defend the righteousness of their cause and we owe a duty to their memory to see that our school histories shall teach that they were rght in what they did and in what they fought for, and any history which, after 150 years, attempts to teach our children that the War of Independence was an unnecessary war and that it is still a problem as to who was right and who wrong should be fed to the furnace, and those responsible for these books branded as un-American."[45] Dr. Pierce points out that there is a striking similarity between these statements and those of Charles Grant Miller in the pamphlet referred to above. She refers to the New York Tribune, November 5, 1923, which claims to have documentary evidence that Miller was in fact the real author of the Hirshfield report and that Hirshfield paid him for his services.[46]

According to the published report, eight books used in the New York elementary and high schools were examined; a report on the investigation of each one is given separately. Muzzey's *An American History,* one of the most widely used texts in the high schools of the country, is given the first critical analysis. Professor Muzzey is taken to task for saying in connection with the Revolution that it was "a debatable question. .whether the abuses of the king's ministers justified armed resistance" when hitherto according to Hirshfield, it had been a "clear and incontestable truth that the colonists were right and their oppressor wrong."[47] Muzzey errs again when he refers to the violent demonstrations of the colonists in protest to the Stamp Act as actions of "the mob" for the reason that "this is either derogatory of the patriots or vindicative of mobs."[48] Among the many other sins which Mr. Muzzey has committed against the honored name of

43. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
44. *Ibid.,* p. 14.
45. *Ibid.,* p. 14.
46. B. L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History,* pp. 284-285.
47. Hirshfield, *Report,* p. 16.
48. *Ibid.,* p. 16.

our country, the following are a few: 1. No mention is made of "Nathan Hale, Generals Anthony Wayne, Putnam, Sumter, Pickens, Marion, Stark, Sullivan, Knox, Light Horse Harry Lee, Gansevoort, Commodore Barry, Sergeant Jasper, Mollie Pitcher, Betsy Ross and the birth of the flag, the battles of Bennington and Stony Point, and many other heroic characters and events that have thrilled and inspired the school boys and girls in the school history of the past." 2. "The Battle of Lexington is inadequately and inaccurately presented." 3. "The taking of Ticonderoga is related without detail or spirit." 4. "The story of Bunker Hill is disposed of in seventeen words." 5. "All mention of Brandywine, Germantown and Valley Forge is embraced in two sentences." 6. "The glorious career of John Paul Jones is given one sentence." 7. The naval and military phases of the Revolution are told in less than ten pages. 8. He tells us that France had selfish motives in coming to the aid of the colonies in the Revolution. 9. He charges the American peace commission with a breach of faith in the case of the French Alliance by making a separate treaty with England. 10. He speaks of the War of 1812 as "the unfortunate war between the sister nations of the English tongue." 11. He makes the War of 1812 a mere phase of the European conflict then in progress.[49]

The Commissioner insists that more space should be devoted to an elaboration of the military phases of the Revolution. There is not the slightest hint of an interest that the children of our public schools be taught the causes of war with the purpose of eliminating, if possible, future wars. That there was a sufficient amount of destructive military action in the days of the Revolution to make possible the expansion of the story beyond ten pages no one will deny. But the question of the amount of space which should be devoted to it must necessarily be determined by the importance of military history relative to the constructive political, social, religious, and economic work of the builders of our nation. In the mind of the writer, Professor Muzzey's scale of relative importance is infinitely more reliable than that of Commissioner Hirshfield. In regard to the four last mentioned errors of Muzzey, suffice it to say that it is a decidedly inferior sort of patriotism which begs the historian to blink at facts for the sake of the glorification of the nation. The historian, if he is true to his calling, must present the facts as he finds them, whether they place his country in a favorable light or not.

Among the other histories investigated by Mr. Hirshfield are those of West, Hart, McLaughlin and Van Tyne, Guitteau, and Barnes. He finds that West, in addition to many other errors, makes the mistake of finding

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

the origin of the American ideas of political liberty in English sources.[50] Here again incidentally, if unconsciously, the American people are given credit for their infinite superiority over all peoples of the earth. For was it not a great achievement indeed for a people to have located on this great continent and purged their minds and thoughts of all ideas held by those people from whom they went out, and then, in the short space of a century and a half, to have developed a system of political thought never to be equalled in this age nor in the age to come? Such a people have not been heard of from the days of Noah even until now.

Professor Hart is also found to be in serious error on many points. When he attempts to explain the separation of the American colonies from the mother country by the fact that "the Colonists were so free and did so many things for themselves that they could not see why they should not be relieved from almost all restraints", Mr. Hirshfield points him to the Declaration of Independence in which document the real reasons are set forth.[51] One is made to wonder whether Mr. Hirshfield really believes that the Declaration of Independence is an adequate and final analysis of the causes of this great struggle. Would he accept without qualification the statement in the Declaration, for example, which says that the king "has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation"? When Professor Hart refers to Governor Hutchinson and Joseph Galloway as honest men, the Commissioner refutes the characterization by reminding us that they were Tories and that they were charged by the Patriots as being hypocrites and spies.[52] Of course, to a "one hundred per cent American" it would seem quite impossible that a Tory should be honest. Furthermore, the statements of the Patriots must always be taken at face value.

Many more of the Commissioner's criticisms could be pointed out, but on account of lack of space only a few of the more interesting ones will be given: 1. Professor Hart is taken to task for failing to devote more than six lines to the Battle of Bunker Hill, "one of the most dramatic and decisive events in world history", which "is the best topic afforded for inculcation of patriotic pride, devotion, idealism and inspiration."[53] 2. McLaughlin and Van Tyne tell us that many of the early colonists were

50. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

ignorant and superstitious and that Patrick Henry had been, before his prominence in Revolutionary days, "a gay, unprosperous, and hitherto unknown country lawyer".[54] Certainly this could never have been so! 3. These same authors tell us that, "As the British soldiers who had left Boston at midnight neared Lexington in the early morning of April 19, 1775, Adams and Hancock stole away across the fields".[55]. Stealing away across the fields evidently savors too much of cowardice to be used in connection with the names of the necessarily brave Hancock and Adams. 4. McLaughlin and Van Tyne refer to Andrew Jackson as having been rough and uncultured;[56] Guitteau says he was a poor speller and used poor English.[57] What they should have said is that "he was a great soldier, a good statesman and a model patriot".[58] 5. When McLaughlin and Van Tyne refer to the burning in effigy of the king and to the tearing down of his statue and melting it into bullets as an indulgence in "foolish things", Mr. Hirshfield replies that, "It was peculiarly proper that the statue of King George was turned into bullets to shoot his oppression and sovereignty out of the land. No better use for a king's statue ever was found in America."[59]

It was to be expected, in view of all the patriotic propaganda that has been afloat and in view of all the advice which has been freely offered as to what should and what should not be the character of a text-book of American history, that someone would eventually produce this ideal book. And in this we have not been disappointed. The historians, of course, had hopelessly failed and so it has fallen to the lot of other men to perform this important task — the crowning achievement of patriotic endeavor in the United States in recent times! This work was published in 1926 in two volumes of approximately five hundred pages each, under the title, *The Story of Our American People,* by the U. S. History Publishing Company of New York, and is designed for use in the seventh and eighth grades. According to its title page, the author is Charles F. Horne, Professor of English in the College of the City of New York, who wrote the book under the authorization of the American Legion "at its Annual Convention in 1922" and "with its support and critical aid, and with that of The American Legion Auxiliary, American Federation of Labor, American War Mothers, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, Boy Scouts of America, Civic League for Immigrants, Colonial Sons and Daughters, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of the War of 1812, Daughters of

54. *Ibid.,* p. 37.
55. *Ibid.,* p. 37.
56. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
57. *Ibid.,* p. 46.
58. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
59. *Ibid.,* p. 40.

the Confederacy, Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Knights of Pythias, League for American Citizenship, National Association for Constitutional Government, National Association of Naval Veterans, National Child Welfare Association, National Civic Federation, National Security League, Service Star Legion, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Union Society of the Civil War, United Confederate Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Women's Relief Corps of the G. A. R., Women's Home Mission Society, and other patriotic and educational societies."

Professor Horne seems to have had the cooperation of about fifty assistants who rendered service in the revision of the text; these include such statesmen as Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, Albert B. Cummins, and Oscar W. Underwood, as well as such historical scholars as former Chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, John T. Adams and Cordell Hull. Then there are included a number of military and naval officials, at least one federal judge, the historians of a number of the above mentioned patriotic and educational societies, three teachers of history in institutions of higher learning (one in a state normal school, one in a small western college, and one in a theological seminary), and a number of others.

In the production of this history the cooperating organizations had four great aims in mind which served as principles for the guidance of those who had the actual work to perform. These principles are as follows: "1. To secure the teaching of the same facts of history in all sections of our country and thus prevent sectional distrusts and misconceptions. 2. To make a nationally acceptable history by gathering and stating the views of the nation as a whole, rather than those of any single historian, state, or region. 3. To express to the rising generation a faith in our Country and a BELIEF in it that shall tend to create a broad patriotism and love of America; and to give an understanding of our institutions that shall inspire confidence in our laws and loyalty to our government. 4. To tell the truth bravely but not boastfully, preserving old tales of devotion and heroism, but not ignoring national errors, 'With malice toward none, with charity for all'."[60]

These four principles really resolve themselves into one. In other words the fundamental aim in the writing of this history was to produce a story which should be shot through and through with the spirit of nationalism in order to create within the young generation a passionate patriotism. Admission of national error was to be made now and then, but fundamen-

60. C. F. Horne, *The Story of Our American People* (New York, 1926), Vol. I. p. iii.

tally the story should be so told as to inspire confidence and loyalty in our laws and government. The *status quo* must be defended. There is no hint in this list of principles of a purpose of leading children to understand how the present with its institutions, ways, and customs came to be, with the view of pointing out a path of progress for the future. That the story of our country should be told as it actually occurred with the careful exclusion of mythology and propaganda is given no consideration. There is apparently no definite purpose of giving the child a picture of our entire American civilization — economic, social, and cultural elements as well as the political, the military, and the heroic. The one great aim in mind is to "prevent sectional distrusts", "to make a nationally acceptable history", and "to create a broad patriotism", "preserving old tales of devotion and heroism."

The process of composition of *The Story of Our American People* is an interesting one. Using the principles mentioned above, the report of the New York committee of teachers was followed "with scrupulous care."[61] A trial text was first written and then submitted to representatives from the cooperating societies who offered criticisms and suggestions for revision. In this way a total of over 300 "experts" assisted in the production of the work.[62]

The two volumes are abundantly supplied with illustrations. We are told that, "Effort has been made to keep these pictures really historical, instead of giving mere details of colonial life, which are being opened to the present generation by so many other pictorial sources."[63] It is interesting to notice the illustrations which have been selected to meet this requirement. In the two volumes there are sixteen full-page pictures in color, nine of which are suggestive of military action. The frontispiece of Volume I is a large sharply colored plate of "The Ship that Sank in Victory". In the written description which accompanies it we are told that, "This pictured frontispiece portrays that proud baptism of our American flag, in the famous battle which Commodore John Paul Jones with his ship, the Bonhomme Richard, fought against the British frigate, Serapis, under Captain Richard Pearson." The very first impression, then, which the school boy of our generation ought to receive regarding his country's place in contemporary civilization is not that of earnest toil and labor for the economic advancement of our country, nor of quiet, patient effort in the attainment of social, political, cultural, and religious progress, nor of a need for international good will and peace among nations. In a history which has been written with the view of being "nationally accept-

61. *Ibid.*, I, p. vii.
62. *Ibid.*, I, p. iv.
63. *Ibid.*, I, p. vii.

able" the first impression to be received is that of warfare between nations, of the "grand baptism of our American flag" which now waves proudly over the land where dwell a people who among the peoples of the world are "more sincerely religious, better educated, of serener minds, and of purer morals" than all others. Of the remaining 260 illustrations, 103 are full-page in black and white, 40 (or 39 per cent) being military, and 157 are less than full-page in size, 50 (or 32 per cent) being military in subject matter. In view of the fact that illustrations have been selected which are "really historical", it is interesting to notice that one of the colored plates is a picture of Pocahontas saving the life of John Smith. It was necessary, it seems in a book "preserving old tales of devotion and heroism" to include this discredited myth even at the expense of historical accuracy. A knowledge of the facts of American history may be good in its place, but a training in hero worship seems to be infinitely more important.

Turning to the written text of *The Story of Our American People*, the reader finds everything running true to form. Notice the opening paragraph: "AMERICA! A thrill of love leaps in our hearts at the mention of the name. Even strangers love America. . . . The leaders of other countries also turn to the United States. They know it as a land of Power, able to help them in their political troubles, yet not grasping at their rights. They seek our young strength and energy to aid in solving the world-wide problems of government at home and of trade abroad."[64] In spite of the fact that the United States has engaged in six major wars within a period of one hundred fifty years, lasting from one and one-half to eight years each, in spite of numerous domestic difficulties and problems, to say nothing of the often rather questionable relations with our Latin-American neighbors, we are told rather categorically that (since our government has remained unchanged by revolution from its beginning), "We have . . . accomplished the nearest approach yet made to that noble spiritual ideal, 'On earth peace, good-will toward men'."[65] That the pupil may not fail to appreciate our own importance in a democratic world he is told that, "Our government is the largest and most promising of mankind's experiments in this difficult field of self-government by an entire people. If we should fail, the future of the world would be darkened by our fall."[66] And yet, in spite of the impending disaster in the event of our failure, we are told that times will come when democracy must be laid aside, for "all ideals of harmony and liberty become impractical

64. *Ibid.*, I, p. 1.
65. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 2, 3.
66. *Ibid.*, I, p. 3.

under the strain of war. In warfare everyone must obey a single leader."[67] The reader is made to wonder how much progress we have made in the direction of world peace if the nation which has "accomplished the nearest approach yet made to that noble spiritual ideal" finds it necessary to teach its school children what needs to be done in time of war rather than to train them in the pursuits of peace.

In order that the younger generation may fully understand why and how the greatness of our country has been made possible they are told, in true Bancroft fashion, that it has been accomplished by virtue of the superior qualities of its people. For we represent not a mediocre, nor even an average, but a highly selected group of people. We are a chosen race. Our ancestors who endured hardships did not only prove themselves physically superior, but spiritually so as well. For, "Mere bodily strength was no guarantee of survival. There had to be wit as well, and endurance, alertness, adaptability to the new environment, solid grit . . . . The survivors of these grim tests were therefore what might well be called a 'chosen race' of Europeans."[68] The Divine Hand of God seems to have placed this chosen race in the center of the universe, all other forces gravitating toward them. Even the discovery of America was stayed in the purpose of God until there was found a people great and good and wise enough to merit having placed at their disposal a wealth of natural resources such as is found on the western continent. We are told that we ought to contemplate in awe the fact that Europe was sifted and sorted that its richest seed — the Teutonic and Celtic stock — might be placed on this greatest of all lands. Even down until near the close of the nineteenth century there continued to flow into our country "a high grade of immigrants."[69]

In its treatment of the American Revoultion there is left no room for the reader to doubt the righteousness of the American cause. Instead of devoting only ten pages to the military and naval phases of the war as in the case of Muzzey's book, *The Story of Our American People* devotes sixty-one pages. The real dispute, we are told, "was about Britain's right to make laws for us at all."[70] Furthermore, because of the greatness and goodness of our people, independence was inevitable. "They were starting a new era on earth. In this new land the mass of mankind had at last reached a level where they had enough honesty and intelligence to recognize and follow honest leaders, and had enough boldness and endurance to continue steadfast in defeat. Self-government only becomes possible when a nation can reach and maintain this level . . . . The leaders of the old

67. *Ibid.*, I, p. 3.
68. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 10, 11.
69. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 6, 7, 10, 11.
70. *Ibid.*, I, p. 320.

aristocratic system failed to understand us. They did not believe such a people was possible."[71] Poor George III, belonging as he did, to this old group could not be expected to act with any degree of intelligence. "He was an honest man but obstinate; and, because he was stupid, he was brutal."[72] The result was a constant quarrel. So brutal was he that when the colonies considered the advisability of resistance, "The enraged King George" declared it "an open call to 'treason'. Thus, the ugly threat was brought out at last, the old cry of kingly absolutism, which declares that a helpless people must accept whatever commands some arbitrary ruling power gives. If not, then absolutism will call the people traitors and slay them."[73] When Boston failed to meet the demands of the king it was determined that she must be "punished — not governed you must note, but 'punished'. A government which seeks thus to crush its people . . . is clearly not *their* government. It is a mere monster of brute force and ill-temper disguising itself as law."[74] England's attitude at the time of the Boston Tea Party "was flatly that of the bully who will not listen to argument, but inflicts whatever punishment he can, so as to break the will of a weaker opponent."[75] Another illustration of British brutality is found in her employ of German mercenary troops. The reader is cautioned lest he underrate the importance of "the savage conduct of the [this] invading army. War is always hideous; but it sinks only to its deepest brutality when a helpless land lies in the hands of ignorant invaders who cannot even talk the language of their victims."[76] The cruelty of the British armies stands out in sharper relief still when we pause only long enough to compare their methods with those of the tender-hearted American soldiers. When Nathan Hale, the American spy, had been captured by the British he was sentenced to be hanged. And while he "stood with the rope about his neck, he was abused and taunted by brutal officials, such as sometimes exist in most armies. . . . Four years later [however] a British spy, Major Andre, was executed under similar circumstances. But our soldiers around him did all they could to ease his final moments; and Britain raised as much lamentation over him and protest, as if her generals had never hanged a spy."[77] Yet another example of the enlightened policy followed by America as compared with the cruelty and unreasonableness of the British is found in the career of John Paul Jones. "In 1778 he carried

71. *Ibid.*, I, p. 321.
72. *Ibid.*, I, p. 318.
73. *Ibid.*, I, p. 329.
74. *Ibid.*, I, p. 330.
75. *Ibid.*, I, p. 336.
76. *Ibid.*, I, p. 366.
77. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 364, 365.

our flag to Britain itself, raiding her coast and capturing towns and ships as the British did here, but without the burning and killing that accompanied the British raids. Britain was astonished at his success and daring. She had called Washington a traitor, so now she called Jones a pirate. When she plundered our towns, she regarded the deed as one of glory; when we responded by plundering hers, it was theft and piracy."[78] What a pleasant place this world would be if all people in it were just like us!

In regard to the origin of the Constitution we are given a rather interesting explanation, but one which is highly misleading. We are told that, "It came into existence because an entire people had at last grown wise enough" to recognize its necessity.[79] A little investigation would readily produce the information that by no means "an entire people" saw the necessity of the Constitution. The opposition, on the other hand, was so great that there was grave danger of its failure of adoption at all. Even John Marshall admitted that in some ratifying states the majority of the people were opposed. (*Vide Supra.*)

In the second volume of *The Story of Our American People* we have a continuation of the same nationalistic spirit which is so much in evidence throughout the first. The subject matter, it is true, has changed somewhat, recognition being given to the coming in of the industrial revolution as well as to a number of other new factors which do not lend themselves quite so easily to jingoistic jargon. But even here opportunity is found to tell the reader that he "may well be proud of the story of our past" in which we played so great a part in the advancement of civilization.[80]

Here opportunity is also afforded for an appraisal of the nation's leaders. In connection with the account of Washington's death, we are told in a rather sweeping and dogmatic statement that "Washington was the best leader a nation ever had." And as to his services we are informed that, "Without Washington our Union would not even have begun; and without him it could not have continued."[81]. The reader is naturally made to wonder why, if *an entire people* had grown sufficiently wise to see the need of a constitution and of a new government and had made progress in all matters essential to self-government, it should not be reasonable to suppose that our nation would have been founded and continued even though there had been no George Washington. But then it is likely true that those enamored of a drum and trumpet type of patriotism cannot afford to be concerned with so trifling a matter as an inconsistency.

The War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War as well as

78. *Ibid.*, I, p. 395.
79. *Ibid.*, I, p. 439.
80. *Ibid.*, II, p. 1.
81. *Ibid.*, II, p. 37.

the pursuits of peace of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries furnish an abundance of material for the writing of a history which is to be "nationally acceptable." At no point has an opportunity been missed for the glorification of our American republic. But perhaps more outstanding than any of these is the treatment of our part in the Spanish-American War. The Spaniards had become unspeakably oppressive, and the "butcher" had been sent over to rule the poor Cubans. And so, with a new vision of her responsibility toward her neighbors, the United States opened war against "Spain, proud of spirit but feeble indeed for war." We are told that following the Maine disaster, "President McKinley tried to delay all action, to give the temper of our people time to cool; but the pressure of public indignation forced him to declare to Spain that Cuba must be freed at once."[82] The entire war is presented as a wholly unmixed wave of humanitarian protest on the part of the people of the United States against the vicious bestiality of Spain. There is no suggestion that even the smallest amount of selfishness may have entered into the American motives for carrying on the war, nor that much of the popular indignation which existed was the result of the propaganda of the vested interests. Here again the United States was altogether in the right and Spain fully deserved every punishment which she received at our hands. Even her European neighbors refused to help her. "Poor Spain was left alone to the feeble and hopeless resistance to which she was driven by her pride."[83]

In the discussion of the naval events of the war no opportunity is missed for implanting into the mind of the reader the idea that the greatest of honors is due him who displays great prowess in engagements with the enemy. He is proudly told that "Our cannon easily crushed the old style Spanish ships. The gunnery of our men was as good as that of the Spaniards was bad; and only one American was killed, while all the Spanish fleet was captured or destroyed. Dewey was promptly made an admiral by our delighted country."[84] What a splendid bit of pedagogic endeavor this! Would our eighth-grade boy win the applause of a "delighted country"? Then cause him to think on the great possibilities to be found in a military career.

In the discussion of America's rise as a world power *The Story of Our American People* comes to a positive defense of imperialism which seems to have been virtuous in every respect. Interest in the welfare of our Little Brown Brothers alone induced us to take new lands under our control. "We felt an obligation to reach out beyond our own homes and

82. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 350, 351.
83. *Ibid.*, II, p. 352.
84. *Ibid.*, II, p. 354.

to aid in the civilizing of all the world."[85] This same motive evidently explains the taking of Panama from Colombia, our South American neighbor. It is true, Colombia felt we were a nation of bullies, but she was unfair in her attitude. She failed to recognize that the price she asked for the right-of-way was unjust to both the United States and Panama because she had already received such a remuneration from France. Theodore Roosevelt was entirely justified, therefore, in encouraging the Panama revolt.[86]

In the treatment of the World War no cognizance whatever seems to have been given the work which has been done in recent years in the attempt to arrive at a real understanding of the causes which underlay that struggle. The old stuff is passed on precisely as it was "dished out" to us ten years ago. The responsibility for the war is placed with Austria and Germany,[87] while the Allies, and especially the United States, are given credit for having entered the war for purely idealistic purposes.[88] Even the tale of German atrocities in Belgium, created as a piece of vicious war propaganda, is accepted practically at face value.[89] And then there is given to us in glowing language a picture of the millions of uniformed men which we so enthusiastically fed into the mouth of the monstrous war machine and of the millions more which were waiting to follow.[90] Here, of course, we have another point to the credit of the great and fair name of the United States of America; for "Upon our side, the war was in very solemn truth a battle for democratic brotherhood as oposed to autocratic destruction."[91]

History, if studied with an open mind, will teach the student a number of things. In the first place, he will find that his own group, be it nation, church, or school, regardless of the many excellent qualities which it may possess, often has a number of dark spots on its record — some things it might well be ashamed of. He will find, in the second place, as a general rule, that he is greatly indebted to others for the contributions they have made to the accomplishments of his own group. And in the third place, it will be found that in case of conflict between two groups each must usually bear part of the blame. These are simple principles of tolerance which have come to be generally recognized as worthy of adoption by the individual for purposes of estimating his own worth and of adjusting himself to the society in which he moves. The individual who would grow in usefulness

85. *Ibid.*, II, p. 363, 364.
86. *Ibid.*, II, p. 375.
87. *Ibid.*, II, p. 402.
88. *Ibid.*, II, p. 415.
89. *Ibid.*, II, p. 416.
90. *Ibid.*, II, p. 427.
91. *Ibid.*, II, p. 420.

to society must be ready to recognize error on his own part in order that he might improve his ways; he must learn to appreciate the good in others that he may learn new virtues useful to himself; and he must be willing to perform his part in the removal of all barriers of misunderstanding and ill-will which may impede a desirable cooperation with others in the solution of the problems of society.

If these principles are found to be useful to the individual, does it not seem reasonable that they should be available to the nation as well? No one can deny that the American nation has much in her history for which she deserves the gratitude of the world. But if she assumes an air of self-righteousness and refuses to admit error on her own part and virtue on the part of other peoples, will she not by this very attitude close her mind to the learning of new things which will increase her usefulness as a nation in a world of nations? And if the United States of America is to perform her part in the establishment of peace and good-will among the nations of the world, must she not place much emphasis on the necessity of learning the causes of international friction and distrust with a view to their removal, rather than insisting on the necessity of defending the saintliness (frequently supposed) of the fathers of the country and the sometimes questionable righteousness of the causes for which they may have fought and bled and died? It is a spurious patriotism which insists on a negative reply.

Mennonitica Americana II.

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN MENNONITE LITERATURE 1827-1867

Introduction*

The forty year period which has been chosen for the second section of the bibliography carries the story of American Mennonite literature up to the establishment of John F. Funk's publishing house in Elkhart, Indiana, and almost to the time of the immigration of the Russian Mennonites which began in 1873. It also carries the story past the period of settlement of the various Mennonite communities west of Pennsylvania except for those on the Pacific Coast and in the Northwest. It thus marks an epoch in a real sense.

A surprising fact is the very noticeable increase in the number of imprints of Mennonite books and pamphlets in this period. At least one issue appears in almost every year from 1827 on. In fact, the total number of issues, over one hundred and fifty, is approximately thrice that of the total issues for the first century, 1727-1827.

The largest class is that of hymnology: thirty-five issues of hymnbooks are listed, with at least ten more unlisted. There are likewise a large number of reprints of the prayer-books and catechisms, such as the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht, Gemuethsgespraech* and catechisms. Controversial literature occupies a large part, being represented in the writings of John Herr, John Oberholtzer, John Holdeman, and Daniel Musser. A larger proportion of the titles are in English (approximately one-fourth), but with very few exceptions the English issues are translations from German originals. Apparently the first original composition in English is that by Joseph Funk in 1857 entitled, *The Reviewer Reviewed,* which was followed by Daniel Musser's *Comparison of the Nominal Church,* in 1860, the same author's *Non-Resistance Asserted* in 1864 and the booklet by John Brenneman on *Christianity and War* in 1863. An English hymnbook by Funk appeared in 1832.

Of the twelve or more writers who produced literature during this period, less than half, or five, were adherents of the main branch of the Mennonites, such men as Herr, Oberholtzer, Holdeman, and Musser being leaders in the several schisms which took place from 1812 to 1860.

*For an introduction to the bibliography in general see the January, 1927 issue of the Review.

Joseph Funk of Virginia, Benjamin Eby of Ontario, and J. M. Brenneman of Ohio are the outstanding writers in the main branch of the Mennonites. John F. Funk as editor of the English and German *Herald of Truth,* and John M. Brenneman as the most frequent contributor to these journals were continuously producing from 1864 on.

This period marks also the beginning of periodical literature among the Mennonites. Aside from the Canadian *Meeting Calendar* which began publication in 1836, and the one issue of *Der Evangelische Botschafter* by Bertholet in 1836, the first successful publication was the *Religioeser Botschafter* by John H. Oberholtzer, 1852-55, followed soon by *Das Christliches Volksblatt,* 1856-66, which ultimately grew into the present *Bundesbote* of the General Conference Mennonite Church. The first English periodical was Funk's *Herald of Truth,* which was founded in 1864. Note also the beginning of the publication of official documents and reports in the Oberholtzer *Ordnung* of 1848 and the issuance of conference minutes of various sorts, of which perhaps the most interesting are the Amish Conference reports beginning in 1862.

The first Mennonite publisher appears in the person of Joseph Funk, whose press was set up at Mountain Valley (Singer's Glen) in 1847, but who had published his *Genuine Church Music* as early as 1832. The first Mennonite press was apparently that of Heinrich Eby of Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario. His first issue bears the date 1840. The first publication of John H. Oberholtzer, also printed by him, appeared at Milford Square in 1848. John F. Funk published a pamphlet in 1863 in Chicago, although the first issue bearing his name as publisher appeared in 1864. He did not operate a press of his own until 1867 upon his removal to Elkhart. The *Mennonitischer Druck-Verein,* organized in 1856 at Milford Square, Pa., was apparently the first Mennonite publishing company. Its operations extend throughout the entire period and beyond. The Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana was not organized until 1875.

By far the larger part of the printing for Mennonites during this period was done by the Baers in Lancaster. The firm was founded about 1815 by the father, John Baer, whose first imprint for Mennonites was the 1820 edition of the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch.* After a time one son was taken into the firm, then another, and the firm became *Johann Baer und Soehnen.* With the death of the elder Baer in 1858 the name was changed to *Johann Baer's Soehnen.* The firm's operations covered practically a century. In the Franconia district the Mennonite publications appeared for the most part from the press of J. M. Schuenemann at Skippack, or that of Joseph Jung (Jung u. Loeb, M. Loeb) at Doylestown.

Noteworthy is the fact that practically no Mennonite imprints were issued in the west, that is outside of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ontario, before the establishment of the publishing work of John F. Funk, and Funk himself was born and reared in the Franconia district in eastern Pennsylvania.

Apparently the only Mennonite publication which was published extensively by non-Mennonites and widely read by non-Mennonites was *The Wandering Soul,* which went through numerous editions in German and English during this period. It was quite popular among the Pennsylvania Germans. It is also interesting to note how frequently the name of I. Daniel Rupp (a non-Mennonite of Lancaster) appears as the translator of German Mennonite literature into English. In 1834 or earlier he translated the *Wandering Soul,* in 1835 Menno Simon's *Foundation,* in 1837 the *Martyr's Mirror,* in 1849 the *Catechism.*

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The section of the bibliography which is here presented was compiled chiefly from the catalog of the extensive library of N. B. and S. M. Grubb in Philadelphia, from the list of volumes in the Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library, from the Schwenckfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pa., and from the lists in Horsch's *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten,* Heatwole's *Mennonite Handbook of Information,* and Smith's *Mennonites of America.* Bausman's *Bibliography of Lancaster County* was also of some assistance, although numerous items of Mennonitica were missing in that otherwise excellent list. The compiler is greatly indebted to H. W. Kriebel, Assistant Custodian of the Schwenckfelder Historical Library, S. M. Grubb, of Philadelphia, and John Horsch, Librarian of the Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale, Pa., for valuable assistance in checking the list for missing items and corrections. Appreciation is also due to L. J. Heatwole, Dale Enterprise, Virginia, S. F. Coffman, Vineland, Ontario, J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana, Geo. A. Weber, Kitchener, Ontario, C. Henry Smith, Bluffton, Ohio, and Joseph K. Ruebush, Dayton, Virginia.

The key to symbols and abbreviations is the same as that printed in the January number of the REVIEW, with the following additions: JFF, John F. Funk; GAW, George A. Weber; AG, Amos Graber; M BR, Mrs. J. D. Brunk. It should be noted that items in private libraries are not noted unless the item is not to be found in libraries accessible to the public, except in the case of the extensive collection of S. M. Grubb. The order of libraries is as in the first section of the bibliography.

Difficulty in the compilation of the bibliography for the period since 1867 makes it probable that the next instalment will be held over until the October issue.

MENNONITICA AMERICANA II, 1827-1867

1829 Burkholter, Christian
NUETZLICHE UND ERBAULICHE ANREDE AN DIE JUGEND . . . . .
Zum drittenmal herausgegeben.
Allentown: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Ebner & Comp.* 1829. pp. 96, 12mo. SHL JCL SMG

1829 UNPARTEYISCHES GESANGBUCH . . . . . Vierte verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer.* 1829. pp. 483, 19, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH JCL

1830 Wynantz, Wilhelm
PREDIGTEN ueber hoechst wichtige Gegenstaende des Christenthums. Von Wilhelm Wynantz, Diener des Worts an der Gemeine zu Altona, 1654. Welchen ist beygefuegt: Antwort auf einige Fragen, Oder Anweisung Von der Meidung der Abfaelligen. Von Menno Simon. Alles aus der Hollaendischen in die Hochdeutsche Sprache uebersetzt von David Zug. Und zum Druck befoerdert von Johann Heinrich Fitger.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer.* 1830. pp. 297, 12mo. HSP MPH GCL SHL JCL

1832 Funk, Joseph
A COMPILATION OF GENUINE CHURCH MUSIC comprising a variety of metres, all harmonized for three voices; together with a copious elucidation of the science of vocal music. By Joseph Funk. * Isaiah ch. xxxv. v. 10.
Winchester: *Published at the Office of the Republican.* (*J. W. Hollis, Printer.*) 1832. pp. 208, long 8vo. JKR
Reprints: Winchester ——; Harrisonburg 1842; Mountain Valley (Singer's Glen) 1847 and 13 other times; Scottdale 1915. Called *Harmonia Sacra* after the fourth edition.

1833 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEELE . . . . .
Harrisburg: *Gedruckt und zu haben bey G. S. Peters.* 1833. pp. 324, 12mo. HSP PSL MPH SHL JCL

1833 Symons, Menno
ZEUGNISSE DER WAHRHEIT, oder: Menno Symons saemtliche Schriften. Aus dem Hollaendischen aufs neue uebersetzt. *Hiob 12, 12. Des Zweyten Theiles Erster Band.
Osnaburgh (*Stark County*), *Ohio*: *Gedruckt und zu haben bey Heinrich Kurtz.* 1833. pp. 432, 12mo. HSP NYPL MPH GCL SHL

1834 AUSBUND . . . . . Zum sechstenmal aufgelegt in Pennsylvanien.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer.* 1834. pp. 812, 24, 52, 42, 12mo. GCL SMG

1834 Funck, Heinrich
EIN SPIEGEL DER TAUFE . . . . .
Gedruckt im Jahr 1834. pp. 109, 8vo. SMG

1834 Herr, John
THE ILLUSTRATING MIRROR; or a fundamental illustration of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. For all lovers of the truth to examine their faith, and to promote their observance of the doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By John Herr. Translated from the German.
Lancaster: Printed for the Publishers by John Baer. 1834. pp. 395, 16mo. PSL GCL JCL

1834 DIE KLEINE GEISTLICHE HARFE . . . . Vierte Auflage auf Verordnung der Mennonisten Gemeinde.
Northampton: Gedruckt und zu haben bei A. A. und W. S. Blumer. 1834. pp. 40, 434, 12mo. PSL MPH SHL JCL

1834 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEELE . . . .
Herausgegeben von G. W. Mentz und Sohn, Buchhaendler, Nro. 53, *in der Nord-Drittenstrasse. Stereotypirt bey J. Howe.* 1834. pp. 442, 12mo. GCL

1834 Schabalie, J. P.
THE WANDERING SOUL . . . . translated into English by I. Daniel Rupp . . . . Second and improved edition with engravings.
Harrisburg, Pa. Published by I. D. Rupp and John Winebrenner, proprietors. Stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia. 1834. pp. 504, 16mo. HSP PSL

1834 Schabalie, J. P.
THE WANDERING SOUL . . . .
Carlisle: Published by I. Daniel Rupp. Stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1834. pp. 504, 16mo. PSL

1835 THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE CHRISTIANS CALLED MENNONISTS. Translated from the German.
West Chester: Printed by Henry Evans. 1835. pp. 52, 12mo. SMG

1835 Deknatel, Johannes
ACHT PREDIGTEN ueber wichtige Materien betreffend den Weg um selig zu werden durch den Glauben an Jesum und im heiligen Leben zu wandeln. Von Johannes Deknatel nebst einem Anhange enthaltend Morgen- und Abend-Gebete von J. H. Witschel.
Allentown, Pa. Gedruckt und zu haben bei A. A. und W. S. Blumer. 1835. pp. 288, 108, 16mo. HSP PSL SHL SMG

1835 Herr, John
A REMARKABLE VISION in which the Lord was pleased by way of "Similitude" to show how he called his unworthy servant to preach the Word of life.
Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions.—(Joel). By John Herr.
The title here given is taken from the 1890 edition of John Herr's works. In the introduction the publisher states that the book was written in 1826 and published in 1835. No further data are given and no copy could be located.

1835 Simon, Menno
A Foundation and plain instruction of the saving doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ. By Menno Simon. Printed in Europe 1565. Translated into English by I. Daniel Rupp.
Lancaster, Pa. Published by John Herr. Printed by Boswell and McCleery. 1835. pp. 480, 12mo. HSP SHL

1835 Simon, Menno
Ein Fundament und Klare Anweisung . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer. 1835. pp. 698, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH GCL SHL

1836 Calendar fuer die Versammlungen der Mennoniten Gemeinden in (Ontario?)
Berlin, (Ober Canada): Gedruckt bey H. W. Peterson. 1836.
No copy of this booklet is known to exist. However the Meeting-Calendar has been published regularly every year since 1836, first in German and later in English. The current issue for 1927 is numbered the 92nd. This booklet is the oldest regular periodical published by Mennonites in America, and possibly by Mennonites anywhere in the world. The Doopsgezind Jaarboekje appeared first in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1837. The titles of the annual issues will not appear in this list, except as copies are known.

1836 Christliches Gemuethsgespraech . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer. 1836. pp. 256, 32mo. HSP PSL MPH GCL

1836 The Confession of Faith of the Christians called Mennonists Translated from the German.
Skippackville, Montgomery County. Printed by C. A. Pulte. 1836. pp. 62, 12mo. HSP SMG

1836 Der Evangelische Botschafter. July 1, 1836. (One issue only.)
Skippack, Published by C. A. Pulte. Edited by Heinrich Bertholet.

1836 Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes, Aus vielen Liedernbuechern gesammelt, und mit einem Inhalt sammt Register versehen. Erste Auflage.
Berlin (Ober Canada): Gedruckt bey H. W. Peterson. 1836. pp. 328, 24mo. GCL
Reprints: Berlin 1838, 1841, 1849, 1857, 1883; Lancaster 1860, 1870.
This book is apparently the first publication issued by the Mennonites in Canada, although the catechism of 1824 at Ephrata was printed for them on request. On March 4, 1835 a proposal to establish a printing press in Berlin, Waterloo County, Ontario was drawn and opened to signature by those willing to contribute to the subsidizing of the enterprise. Thursday, August 27, 1835 the first fruit of the enterprise appeared in the form of the first number of a weekly newspaper entitled, *Canada Museum und Allgemeine Zeitung.* The printer's name is given as Heinrich Wilhelm Peterson. The list of subscribers to the enterprise includes a large number of Mennonites, prominent among them being Benjamin Eby and Heinrich Eby, the latter of whom soon (1840) issued publications over his own name as printer. Apparently Eby took over the Peterson press at that time. It is possible that this Mennonite hymnbook was the first book of any sort printed in Waterloo County or for that matter in all of inner Canada. The preface is dated at Berlin,

September 24, 1836. The collection was probably edited by Benjamin Eby, bishop and schoolmaster among the Mennonites, the founder of the city of Berlin. Strangely there are no hymns from the Ausbund in the collection, and no hymns of characteristically Mennonite teaching.

837 Funk, Joseph
THE CONFESSION OF FAITH of the Christians Known by the Name of Mennonites in Thirty-three Articles: With a Short Extract from their Catechism. Translated from the German and Accompanied with Notes to which is added an Introduction. Also Nine Reflections from different passages of the Scriptures Illustrative of their Confession, Faith, and Practice by Peter Burkholder, Pastor of the Church of the Mennonites. Written by him in the German Language and from his manuscript translated together with the foregoing articles by Joseph Funk ***Eph. 2, 20.

Winchester: Printed by Robinson & Hollis. 1837. pp. 461, 16mo. PSL NYPL GCL JCL

The introduction of thirty pages gives the origin of the Confession and proves from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Institutes the antiquity of the Mennonite Faith, tracing its origin to the Waldenses. The Confession itself is a translation by Funk from the Martyrs' Mirror in German, probably the Ephrata edition of 1748. The Confession will be found there on pages 426-478. Van Braght is ignorant of the provenance of the Confession but dates it about 1600. The translation of the Confession was undertaken by Funk at the request of the "brethren", according to his statement at the end of the book in "Remarks". The remainder of the volume is occupied with translations from Peter Burkholder's writings, and a translation of a catechism called *Extract from the Catechism,* found in the *Christliches Gemuethsgespraech.* The catechism consists of 35 questions and answers and is confined chiefly to distinctive Mennonite teachings. Collation: 4 blank pages title page (reverse blank), introduction 3-30, Confession of Faith 31-264, Reflections 265-405, three statements on the administration and significance of Baptism from Burkholder's German manuscript 405 423, Extract from the Catechism 424-434, On predestination from Burkholder's German manuscript 435-461, 7 blank pages.

1837 Van Braght, Thielem J.
THE BLOODY THEATRE, OR MARTYRS' MIRROR, of the Defenceless Christians, who suffered and were put to death for the testimony of Jesus, Their Savior, from the time of Christ until the year A. D. 1660. Formerly compiled from various authentic chronicles and testimonies published in the Dutch language, by Thielem J. Van Bracht. Carefully translated into the German; from which is it translated, compared with the original, and carefully revised; and numerous texts of scripture more correctly quoted than in the German Edition, by I. Daniel Rupp. Author of *Der Maertyrer Geschichte, Geographical Catechism,* &c.; Member of the Pennsylvania Lyceum, Corresponding Member of the New York County Cabinet of Natural Sciences,, &c. &c. &c. *"Arbeite und Hoffe".*

Published by David Miller, Near Lampeter Square, Lancaster County, Pa. 1837. *Printed by Carpenter M'Cleery, at "The Union" Office, Lancaster, Penn'a.* (reverse of t. p.) pp. xviii, 1048, large 8vo. HSP PSL GCL SHL JCL

1838 DIE GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . . Zweyte Auflage.

Berlin (Ober Canada): *Gedruckt bey H. W. Peterson.* pp. 387, 32mo. JCL

1838 Gottschall, Abraham
Eine Beschreibung der Neuen Creatur. Von der Geburt an, bis in das vollkommene Alter in Christu Jesu, sammt dessen Nothwendigkeit, Ursprung, Wachsthum, und endlich, glueckseligen Zustand durch Jesum Christum. Geschrieben von Abraham Gottschall, Prediger der Menonisten Gemeinde, zu Doylestaun. "Pruefet aber Alles, und das Beste behaltet." Gedruckt, und zu haben in der Druckerei von J. Jung, zu Doylestaun. 1838. pp. 100, 12mo. HSP PSL NYPL MPH GCL SHL JCL

1839 Christliches Gemueths Gespraech vom seligmachenden Glauben, fuer die Jugend, in Fragen und Antworten: und ein Glaubens Bekenntniss der Mennonisten. Nebst einem Anhang.
Berlin (Ober Canada): *Gedruckt bey H. W. Peterson.* 1839. pp. 340, 16mo. MPH GCL SHL JCL

Second title: Nuetzliche und Erbauliche Anrede an die Jugend . . . von Christian Burkholder . . . . Vierte Auflage. 1839.

A brief statement is appended at the end of the volume regarding the nature and value of the little book and signed by Benjamin Eby, Berlin, Ober Canada, August 18, 1839. Eby is the one who secured the publication, but not the editor, since the book is simply a reprint of earlier editions.

1840 Briefe an die Mennonisten Gemeine, in Ober Canada. Mit einer Zugabe.
Berlin (Ober Canada): *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1840. pp. 47, 24mo. JFF

Collation: Brief an eine Anzahl zur Mennonisten Gemeine gehoerigen Familien, welche im Jahr 1800 von Pennsylvanien nach dem Niagara District, in Ober Canada gezogen sind, 2-14; Ein Brief aus Preussen an Benjamin Eby in der Provinz Ober Canada, 15-23; Ein Brief aus Brandenburg an Benjamin Eby 24-29; Auszug eines Briefes aus Baiern an Jacob Meyer, 30-32; Ein Brief aus Daenemark an die Mennoniten in Canada, in America, 33-42; Zugabe: Eine Kurze und Aufrichtige Erklaerung . . . . (Petition of 1775 to Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly vs. Military burdens.) 43-47.
The first letter is dated "Bedminster Taunschip, Bucks Caunty, Pennsylvanien, den 4. September, 1801," and is written by Jacob Gross in the names of Jacob Gross. Abraham Wismer, Abraham Oberholtzer, Johannes Funk, Rudolph Landis, and Samuel Meyer, in reply to one written by Samuel Meyer on behalf of the settlers in Lincoln Co., requesting counsel and help in the organization of a congregation. The letter from Prussia is dated "Herrnhagen, den 2ten July, 1820" and written by Isebrand Wiebe in reply to a letter from Benjamin Eby of January, 1818 requesting information about the Mennonites in Europe, and about the Mennonites in Thessalonica. Eby has added four pages of notes in fine print with information about European Mennonites taken from *Religions-Kirchen-und Schul-wesen der Mennoniten, Maertyrer Spiegel,* and *Jacob Mehrning.* The letter from Brandenburg is dated "Brenkenhofswalde bei Driesen an der Netz, in der Neumarkt Landschaft Brandenburg, den 16ten Januar, 1819", and is written by Wilhelm Lange in reply to the same letter which had come to Isebrand Wiebe and which the latter had passed on to Lange for reply. The letter from Bavaria is dated "Herdhof bey Neuburg, an der Donau, den 31sten May, 1824," and is written by Daniel Mueller and Heinrich Mueller giving information about the churches in Bavaria in reply to a request for the same. The letter from Denmark is dated "Friedrichstadt an der Eider, im Herzogthum Schleswig, Koenigreich Daenemark,

den 29sten August, 1838," and is written by Carl Justus van der Smissen asking information about the Mennonites in Canada concerning whom he has heard from a brother-in-law, Heinrich van der Smissen, who was living near Toronto. He also offers some information about Mennonites in Europe and about his own congregation at Friedrichstadt.

1841 Zweyter Brief aus Daenemark an die Mennonisten Gemeine in Canada.

Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* pp. 23, 24mo. JFF

The letter is a second one from Carl Justus van der Smissen to Benjamin Eby, dated at Friedrichstadt, May 19, 1840, written in reply to a letter of Eby's dated March 25, 1839. The letter is lengthy and very informing. After referring to some reports he has heard about the unfavorable spiritual conditions among the churches in the United States he gives a lengthy description of the Mennonite practices, administration of the ordinances, church government, etc. as found among the North German and Prussian congregations. In reply to a request from Eby for certain books he states that he is unable to furnish any except the Cornelis Ris *Confession of Faith* but announces the sending instead of a chest of books as a gift from Carl Christian Tauchnitz of Leipzig, the well-known publisher. The list as given includes thirteen titles. By chance the Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library has in its possession one of these volumes, with the probable autograph "Geschenk von Carl Christian Tauchnitz", *Das Buechlein von der Nachfolge Christi* by Thomas a Kempis, Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1824. The letter contained a list of the Prussian Elders, Ministers, and Deacons then serving, which is unfortunately not printed. This booklet is bound with the preceding title in the copy at hand.

1840 Schabalie, J. P.

The Wandering Soul . . . . Originally written in the Holland Language, translated into German by Bernhart B. Brechbill, translated from the fourth American edition into English by I. Daniel Rupp . . Second and Improved Edition with Engravings. Copyright 1833.

Harrisburg, Pa. Published by I. D. Rupp and John Winebrenner, Proprietors. Stereotyped by L. Johnson, Philadelphia. 1840. pp. 504, 12mo. PSL SHL

1841 Eby, Benjamin

Kurzgefasste Kirchen-geschichte und Glaubenslehre der Taufgesinnten-Christen oder Mennoniten. Verfasst und herausgegeben von Benjamin Eby, Mennoniten Prediger.

Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1841. pp. 240, 24mo. MPH GCL SMG

Reprints: Lancaster 1853; Elkhart 1868, 1879.

Collation: Kirchengeschichte, 1-164 (Vorrede 3pp.); Glaubensbekenntniss (Dordrecht) 165-203; Various formularies, and teachings concerning discipline and church government, 204-240.

1841 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht . . . .

Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer.* 1841. pp. 214, 12mo. MPH

1841 Die Gemeinschaftliche Liedersammlung . . . . Dritte Auflage

Berlin (Canada): *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1841. pp. 395, 16mo. GCL

1841 Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch . . . . Fuenfte verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt und Verlegt bey Johann Baer. 1841. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Str. Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 12mo. HSP MPH GCL SHL JCL

1842 Funk, Joseph
A Compilation of Genuine Church Music . . . .
Harrisonburg: Printed by Wartmann & Way. pp. ——, long 8vo.

1842 Herr, Johannes
Eine Kurze und Apostolische Antwort . . . .
Harrisburg, Pa. Gedruckt bey G. S. Peters. 1842. pp. 70, 16mo. SHL

—— Herr, John
A Brief and Apostolic Answer to a Letter Written by a Minister of the Moravian Church by John Herr. Addressed to him July, 1819, and shortly afterward put to press and presented to the Public. First English from the Second German Edition.
Lancaster: Published by J. F. Herr. Printed by D. S. Kieffer. pp. 44, 8vo. MPH
In the absence of a date, the title is inserted at this point following the second German edition of 1842.

1844 Funck, Heinrich
Eine Restitution oder Erklaerung . . . .
Biel (Schweiz), 1844. *Gedruckt bei C. Hoffman.* pp. 533, 8vo. GCL SHL
This is the only book by an American Mennonite author which has been reprinted in Europe.

1844 Hollaz, David
Die Heils und Gnaden-Ordnung nach dem Evangelium in vier Gespraechen vorgestellt Von David Hollaz ehemals Prediger zu Guenthersburg, in Preussen.
Berlin, Canada: Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby, 1844. pp. 160, 12mo. GCL
Hollaz was apparently a Lutheran Pastor, but this edition seems to have been published by a Mennonite printer for Mennonites. The American Tract Society has also issued at least one edition.

1844 Katechismus . . . . (Waldeck)
Doylestaun, Pa. Gedruckt bey Joseph Jung. pp. 64, 12mo. HSP SHL SMG

1844 Musselman, S. M.
Die Neue Choral Harmonie enthaltend die Vornehmsten Kirchen Melodien Eingericht zum Gebrauche aller Christlichen Religionen von jeder Benennungen und auf drei Stimmen gesetzt Absonderlich eingericht zum oeffentlichen Gottesdienste, als: Kirchen, Versammlungen und Singschulen. Komportiert und zusammengetragen von S. M. Musselman. Lower Salford, Montgomery County, Pa.
Harrisburg, Pa. Gedruckt bey Hickok und Cantine. 1844. pp. 160, long 8vo. SHL SMG

1845 Eine Betrachtung ueber die Suende wider den Heiligen Geist, ueber Ebraer 6, 4-8, und 10, 26-29.
Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1845. pp. 32, 16mo. GAW
Reprint from *Das Leben Jesu Christi im Himmel* by Carl H. von Bogatzky, Halle, Germany, 1754. Not a Mennonite production but printed by a Mennonite for Mennonites.

1845 Kleiner Katechismus, oder Kurzgefasste Unterweisung aus der Heiligen Schrift, in Fragen and Antworten zum Gebrauch fuer Kinder. Herausgegeben von der Mennoniten Gemeinde.
Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1845. GCL
Anhang Geistreicher Gebete, pp. 55-64.

1845 Risser, Johannes
Glaube und Lehre von der Taufe der Mennoniten in Deutschland. Verfasst von Johannes Risser, Mitglied dieser Kirche, und hieher nach Amerika eingewandert, welchem dort zwar der Beruf als Prediger geworden, aber ohne in eine andere Schule als eine gewoehnliche Volksschule gekommen zu seyn, folglich kein Gelehrter ist, und daher die Leser wegen den vorkommenden Unvollkommenheiten um freundliche Nachsicht bittet. Zugabe 122-128, two hymns.
Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* 1845. pp. 128, 16mo. MPH GCL

1846 Ausbund . . . . Zum siebentenmal aufgelegt in Pennslvanien.
Lancaster: *Gedruckt bey Johann Baer.* 1846. pp. 812, 24, 52, 42, 12mo. MPH GCL

1846 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht . . . .
Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.*

1847 Eby, Benjamin
A B C - Buchstabir- und Lesebuch, zum Gebrauch fuer Deutsche Schulen. Verfasst von Benjamin Eby. Dritte Auflage.
Berlin, Canada: *Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby.* pp. 144, 16mo. GCL
Reprints: Elkhart 1869, 1871.
The first two editions could not be located. J. F. Funk published two editions at Elkhart in 1869 and 1871 which he called 3rd, and 4th, respectively.

1847 Funk, Joseph; Hartman, ——; Wenger, ——.
A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, suited to the various occasions of public worship and private devotion of the Church of Christ, with an Appendage of German Hymns.
Mountain Valley, Va. Published by Joseph Funk. pp. 364, 60, 24mo.
Reprints: Mountain Valley (Singer's Glen) ——, 1855, 1859, 1868, 1872; Lancaster 1862, 1864, 1869.
The editions of 1868 and 1872 were bought and sold by J. F. Funk at Elkhart, with the imprint of his office. The book was prepared by a committee. It is the first Mennonite Hymn-book in English, and was often called simply, *The English Mennonite Hymn Book.*

1847 Funk, Joseph
A Compilation of Genuine Church Music . . . .
Mountain Valley, Va. Published by Joseph Funk. 1847. pp. 288, long 8vo. GCL

1847 Schabalie, J. P.
Die Wandlende Seele . . . .
Philadelphia: Mentz und Rovoudt (Nachfolger von Geo. W. Mentz und Sohn), Nro. 53, *in der Nord-Drittenstrasse.* 1847. pp. 442, 12mo. PSL GCL

1848 Christliches Gemuethsgespraech . . . .
Doylestaun: Gedruckt bey Joseph Jung. 1847. pp. 448, 16mo. HSP SHL

1848 Katechismus . . . . (Waldeck)
Schippach, Penna.: Gedruckt bey J. M. Schuenemann. pp. 112, 16mo. MPH SHL SMG

1848 Die Kleine Geistliche Harfe . . . . Fuenfte Auflage auf Verordnung der Mennonisten Gemeinden.
Doylestaun: Gedruckt bey Jung und Loeb. 1848. pp. 40, 412, 24, 12mo. PSL MPH GCL SHL SMG

(1848) (Oberholtzer, J. H.)
Ordnung der Mennonitischen Gemeinschaft
n. d. n. p. pp. 21, 8vo. HSP SMG
This may be the "Ordnung" which Oberholtzer had printed and distributed while still in the Franconia Conference and for which he was disciplined. It is signed by the following: Ministers, Johannes Hunsicker, Israel Beidler, William Landis, John H. Oberholtzer, Christian Clemmer, Abraham Hunsicker, Joseph Schantz: Deacons, Johannes Detweiler, Johannes Latschar, Jacob Benner, William Gottschalk, Johannes Brenneman, Heinrich B. Shelly, Peter Jung, Samuel Meyer.

1848 Trauer-Lied des Erz-Vaters Jacob ueber die Abschieds-Reise seines juengsten Sohnes Benjamin nach Egypten. Mel. Nun danket alle Gott.
Berlin, Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby. 1848. Folio Broadside, 3 columns, 19 verses, 8 lines to the verse. GAW

(1848?) Trauer-Lied einer Armen Magd.
(*Berlin, Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby*), Folio Broadside, 4 columns, 40 verses, 6 lines to the verse. GAW
Paper and print are both quite old, the type being exactly the same as that used in the printing of the previous item.

1848 Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch . . . . Fuenfte verbesserte Auflage mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer. 1848. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr.* 7, *Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 8vo. GCL

1848 Verhandlungen des Hohen Rathes der Mennoniten Gemeinschaft. (Johannes Oberholtzer, Vorsitzer, David Schneider, Schreiber.)
Gedruckt bey Johann H. Oberholtzer. One sheet, 8x11½. HSP SMG
Official minutes of the Oberholtzer group's first conference.

1849 THE CATECHISM or, Plain Instructions from the Sacred Scriptures, In Questions and Answers: For the use of Children in Schools. Published by the Christian Communion, called Mennonites, in Waldeck. **I Cor. 3, 11. Translated from the German by I. Daniel Rupp Author of *The History of All Religious Denominations in the United States,* &C, &C.
Lancaster: Printed by E. C. Darlington. 1849. pp. 71, 16mo. SHL

The Catechism itself occupies only pages 1-45 and is followed by an English translation of the "Ordnung" or constitution of the Oberholtzer group issued in 1848 in pages 47-67. A table of contents occupies pages 67-71. On pages 66 and 67 the following names occur: Bishops, John Hunsicker, Israel Beidler, John H. Oberholtzer, Abraham Hunsicker, Christian Clemmer; Ministers, William Landis, Joseph Schantz, William Schelly, Moses Gottschall, Henry G. Johnson; Deacons, John Detweiler, William Gottschall, Henry B. Schelly, Daniel Geissinger, Samuel Meyer, Peter Young, John Latschar, Samuel Kauffman, John Bauman, Jacob Benner, Nathan Pennypacker, David Taylor, Abraham Graeter.

1849 DIE GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . . Vierte Auflage.
Berlin: Gedruckt bey Heinrich Eby. 1849. pp. 411, 16mo. SHL

1849 Simons, Menno
EIN FUNDAMENT UND KLARE ANWEISUNG . . . .
Allentown, Pa. Auf's Neue Gedruckt fuer die Verleger bei Blummer, Busch & Co. 1849. pp. 680, 8vo. MPH SHL SMG

1849 Van Braght, Tieleman J.
DER BLUTIGE SCHAUPLATZ, ODER MAERTYRER-SPIEGEL . . . . Published by Shem Zook, near Lewistown, Mifflin County, Pa.
Philadelphia: Printed By King & Baird, No. 9 Ransom Street. 1849. pp. 340, 635, 4to. GCL JCL

1849 VERHANDLUNGEN DES HOHEN RATHES DER MENNONITEN GEMEINSCHAFT. 1849. (Vorsitzer Johannes Oberholtzer, Schreiber, Daniel Schneider.)
Printed by John H. Oberholtzer. One sheet, as in 1848. SMG

1850 Funk, Heinrich
EIN SPIEGEL DER TAUFE . . . .
New Berlin, Pa. 1850. (At end) *Gedruckt fuer Abraham Halteman; von Young u. Moeser, Neu Berlin, Pa.* pp. 101, 12mo. MPH SHL

1850 Schabalie, J. P.
DIE WANDLENDE SEELE . . . .
Philadelphia: Herausgegeben von Wm. G. Mentz, Buchhaendler, Nro. 53, Nord-Drittestrasse. 1850. pp. 442, 12mo. AG

1851 Funk, Henry
A MIRROR OF BAPTISM, with the spirit, with water, and with blood. In three parts. From the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. By Henry Funk. Minister of the Gospel in the Mennonite Church. ***I John, 5:8. Translated from the German.

Mountain Valley (Near Harrisonburg), Va. Published by Joseph Funk and Sons. 1851. pp. 130, 16mo. GCL SMG

1851 Hunsicker, Abraham
A STATEMENT OF FACTS, and summary of views on morals and religion, as related with suspension from the Mennonite Meeting. 1851. (Signed July 16, 1851 at Trappe.)

Philadelphia: G. S. Harris, Printer, S. E. Corner of Fourth and Vine Sts. 1851. pp. 15, 8vo. HSP SHL

1851 Hunsicker, Abraham
EINE DARSTELLUNG DER EREIGNISSE und Summarium von Ansichten ueber die Moral und Religion wie dieselben mit einer gewissen Ausschliessung aus der Mennoniten-Gemeine verbunden sind. Geschrieben zu Trappe, Montgomery Co., Pa.

Philadelphia: George S. Harris, Buchdrucker, Sud-Ost Ecke der 4 und Vine-Str. 1851. pp. 15, 8vo. HSP SHL SMG

1851 Philips, Dietrich
ENCHIRIDION ODER HANDBUCHLEIN . . . . Verlag von Philip Haedings.

Neu-Berlin: Gedruckt bey Christian Moeser. 1851. pp. 568, 8vo. GCL

1851 Simons, Menno
EIN FUNDAMENT UND KLARE ANWEISUNG . . . .

Schippach, Pa., Gedruckt bey Johann M. Schuenemann. pp. 698, 8vo. MPH GCL SHL SMG

1852 DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . .

Lancaster: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer. 1852. pp. 214, 12mo. GCL

1852 Geil, Johannes
ABSCHIEDSWORTE DES EHRW. JOHANNES GEIL AN SEINE GEMEINDE. (At end New Britain, Bucks Co., Pa., Nov. 30, 1852.)

Gedruckt von M. Loeb, Doylestaun, Pa. Folio Broadside, 12x17 in., two columns. GCL

John Geil was born in 1778, ordained to the ministry in the Line Lexington Congregation 1810 (?), died in 1866. "The Farewell Address" was translated by J. F. Funk into English and published in the *Herald of Truth* in September, 1865. It is also to be found in *Biographical Sketch of Pre. John Geil* by J. F. Funk, Elkhart, 1897.

1852 RELIGIOESER BOTSCHAFTER (August 23, 1852 to December 31, 1855)

Published and edited by John H. Oberholtzer at Milford Square, Pa. pp. 8, 10x14 in. SMG (Complete file)

Issued as a biweekly, first issue August 23, 1852 (June 9?), last issue Dec. 31, 1855. Financial difficulties occasioned the organization of a stock company, Der Mennonitische Druck Verein, which renamed the paper *Das Christliche Volksblatt,* whose first issue, still under Oberholtzer's editorship, appeared in July 30, 1856. Successor to the *Volksblatt* was the *Friedensbote* (Jan. 1867), which combined with *Zur Heimath* (Russian Mennonite periodical 1875ff) to form the *Bundesbote,* first issue in 1882.

1852 Sammlung von Predigten von Carl J. van der Smissen, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde in Friedrichstadt, Daenemark, und Berend Karl Roosen, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona. *Berlin, West Canada, Gedruckt bei Peter Eby.* 1852. pp. 163, 12mo. HSP MPH GCL

This collection of sermons, three from Roosen, four from van der Smissen, was arranged by the latter with the purpose of revealing to the Canadian Mennonites the faith and teaching of the German Mennonites in order thereby to promote fellowship. The sermons from van der Smissen also include the services used in connection with the Lord's Supper, Ordination, Baptism, and Marriage, together with addresses on these occasions.

1853 Eby, Benjamin
Kurzgefasste Kirchengeschichte und Glaubenslehre der Taufgesinnten Christen oder Mennoniten . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer. 1853. pp. 240, 12mo. MPH GCL

1853 Funck, Heinrich
Ein Spiegel der Taufe . . . .
Schippach, Pa.: Gedruckt bey Johann M. Schuenemann. 1853. pp. 114, 16mo. HSP PSL MPH SHL

1853 Jutzi, Georg (und Zook, Sam)
Ermahnungen von George Jutzi in Stark County, Ohio, an seine Hinterbliebenen, nebst einem Anhange ueber die Entstehung der amischen Gemeinde, von Sam Zook, Mifflin County, Pennsylvanien.
Herausgegeben von Alexander Stutzman, Somerset Co., Pa. 1853. *Gedruckt von G. Voegtly in Somerset. Preis* $1.50. pp. 336, 8vo. MPH GCL SHL

Introduction by Abner Yoder, Somerset County, Pa. Pages 89-306 are in rhymed verse. The historical appendix is very brief: Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Mennoniten, 329-333; Auszuege aus Gerhard Rose's Geschichte, 333-336.

1853 Oberholtzer, J. H.
Aufschluss der Verfolgungen gegen Daniel Hoch, Prediger der Mennoniten Gemeinschaft in Ober Canada. Ps. 94, 15**.
Pennsylvanien: Gedruckt bei J. H. Oberholtzer. 1853. pp. 108, 12mo. SMC

1853 Simons, Menno
Ein Fundament und Klare Anweisung . . . .
Lancaster, [Penn.]: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer und Sohn. 1853. pp. 710, 8vo. MPH GCL

1854 Calendar of Mennonist Meetings in Lancaster County, Pa. For the Year of our Lord, 1854.
West Earl. E. Burkholder, Printer. (*Prepared by*) *Abraham Martin.* pp. (14), 12mo. JFF

No doubt this Meeting Calendar appeared annually in the succeeding years, although no further copies are at hand until the year 1879 by which time it is enlarged to include all the Mennonite Churches in Eastern Pennsylvania. A note in the *Herald of Truth* in 1866 refers to the Meeting Calendars of Lancaster Co., and Canada, "which have been issued for some years".

1854 Herr, Johannes
ERLAEUTERUNGS-SPIEGEL . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer und Soehne. 1854. pp. 394, 12mo. GCL

1854 Nissly, Heinrich
SENDSCHREIBEN des Christlichen Lehrers und Predigers Heinrich Nissly.
Skippackville, Pa. pp. 16, 12mo. HSP SHL

(1854) Oberholtzer, John H.
LIEDER FUER DIE TAUF-KINDER der Gemeinden vom Schwamme-Bezirk, J. H. Oberholtzer, Prediger.
Milford Square, Pa. n.d. Folio Broadside, 14x14½ in. 16 hymns. SMG

1854 UNPARTEYISCHES GESANGBUCH . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer u. Soehnen. 1854. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 8vo. GCL

1855 Arnold, Gottfried
GEISTLICHE ERFARUNGS-LEHRE oder Erkenntnuss und Erfahrung in den vornehmsten Stuecken des Lebendigen Christenthums von Anfang der Bekehrung bis zur Vollendung Verfasst von Gottfried Arnold, Ehemals Prediger zu Perleberg, Europa.
Milford Square, Bucks County, Pa. Gedruckt und herausgegeben von John H. Oberholtzer. 1855. pp. 504, 8vo. HSP SHL SMG

1855 A COLLECTION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS . . . . Third Edition . . . .
Mountain Valley, Va. [*near Harrisonburg*]: *Joseph Funk and Sons.*

(1855) G.(rater), A.(braham)
AN EXPLANATION OF INCIDENTS that took place among the so-called Mennonites.
Skippack, Pa. Printed by J. M. Schuenemann & Co. pp. 8, 8vo. SHL
At the end the following statement is found: "The following are the names of the Bishops who raised up and worshipped the image. John H. Oberholtzer, Christian Clemmer, Moses Gottschall, Henry G. Johnson." A. G. Perkiomen, Pa. December 28, 1854.

(1855) Grater, Abraham
VERTHEIDIGUNG
Druck von J. M. Schuenemann, Schippach, Pa. pp. 8, 8vo. SHL
This is the German edition of the previous item and contains the same conclusion as noted above except that the date is missing.

1855 St.(auffer), J.(acob)
EINE CHRONIK ODER GESCHICHT-BUECHLEIN von der sogenannten Mennonisten Gemeinde. Zum Dienst und Lehre fuer alle Liebhaber der Wahrheit, durch die Gnade und Segen Gottes. Aus Geschichten, Vorfaellen,

Begebenheiten oder Exempeln, und aus heiliger Schrift zusammengezogen. Durch J. St. Geschrieben im Jahr 1850.

Lancaster: Gedruckt fuer die Verleger, von Johann Baer und Soehnen. 1855. pp. 439, 12mo. MPH GCL
Reprint: Lancaster 1859.

1856 AUSBUND . . . . Zum siebentenmal aufgelegt in Pennsylvanien.

Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer und Soehnen. 1856. pp. 812, 24, 52, 42, 12mo. GCL

1856 CONSTITUTION DES MENNONITISCHEN DRUCK-VEREINS. May 31, 1856.

Milford Square. Printed by J. H. Oberholtzer. Folio Broadside, 12x22 in. SMG

1856 DAS CHRISTLICHE VOLKSBLATT. Editor, J. H. Oberholtzer.

Milford Square, Pa. Mennonitischer Druck-Verein. Bi-weekly, pp. 4. 15x22 in. SMG (Complete file to December, 1864.)

First issue July 30, 1856; called *Der Mennonitische Friedensbote* after January 1, 1867.

1857 BALSAM FUER DAS VERWUNDETE HERZ, oder Trost & Mahnungs Lieder bei der Trennung von den Unsrigen.

Skippackville, Pa. Gedruckt bei J. M. Schuenemann. 1857. pp. 80, 12mo. SHL SMG

1857 CHRISTIAN SPIRITUAL CONVERSATION ON SAVING FAITH, for the young, in questions and answers, and a Confession of Faith, of the Mennonites. With an appendix.

Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer and Sons. 1857. pp. 309, 16mo. HSP GCL

According to the preface, dated Berlin (Canada West), 1856, the translation and publication of this first English edition of the *Christliches Gemuethsgespraech* was under the supervision of a Committee of Canadian Mennonites. The book was entered by the publishers in 1856. The translation is from the Benjamin Eby edition of the *Gemuethsgespraech*. It contains in addition the essay on Predestination by Peter Burkholder which is taken over from the book published by Joseph Funk at Winchester, Va., in 1837.

1857 Funk, Joseph
THE REVIEWER REVIEWED Or, Thoughts and Meditations on the Sacrifices, Offerings, Emblems, Figures, and Types of the Old Testament, Compared in their Fulfillment with the Antitypes in the New Testament. By Joseph Funk.

Mountain Valley, Va. Printed by Joseph Funk & Sons. pp. 309, 16mo. MPH SHL

This is a controversial discussion defending Heinrich Funk's *A Mirror of Baptism* against the *Review* of the same by Elder John Kline, a leading elder in the Brethren (Dunkard) Church in Virginia.

1857 DIE GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . .

Berlin, Canada: Verlag von Boedecker u. Stuebing. 1857. pp. 387, 16mo. GCL

1857 Unparteyisches Gesangbuch . . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.

Lancaster: Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer u. Soehnen. 1857. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr.* 7, *Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 8vo. GCL

All succeeding editions by Baer are mere reprints and carry the designation "Sechste Auflage".

1858 Brenneman, D.; Brenneman, John; Burkholder, M.
An Invitation to Sinners

Mountain Valley [near Harrisonburg], Va.: Printed for Christian Brunk, at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons. 1858. pp. 14, 24mo. JFF

A collection of four invitation hymns, two by John Brenneman, one by each of the other two authors.

1858 Genealogical Register of the Male and Female Descendants of John Jacob Schnebele now Snively, and also of the male and female Descendants of Samuel Bachtel and the relationship existing between the said 2 families.

Chambersburgh, Pa. Printed by M. Kieffer and Co. 1858. pp. 31, 16mo. MBR

Apparently the first Mennonite Family History published in America.

1858 Herr, John
The Illustrating Mirror . . . .

Lancaster, Pa.: Published by Elias Barr & Co. 1858. (Reverse) *Pearsol & Geist, Printers, Lancaster.* pp. 360, 12mo. GCL

1859 Brenneman, J. & D.
Hymns, By Rev'ds J. & D. Brenneman.

Mountain Valley (near Harrisonburg), Va.: Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons. 1859. pp. 10, 24mo. JFF

Funeral Hymns: Two in English, and one in German by John B., and one in English by D. Brenneman.

1859 A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs . . . . Fourth Edition. With an Appendix of German Hymns.

Mountain Valley (near Harrisonburg), Va.: Joseph Funk and Sons. pp. 384, 46, 24mo. MPH

1859 Funk, Joseph
The Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend.

Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va. Published Monthly by Joseph Funk and Sons. pp. 16, 8vo. JKR

First issue July, 1859, twenty-one issues appearing altogether. Last issue March, 1861. The publication was discontinued because of the approaching war, but resumed in Aug., 1867, continuing for a year or more. In January, 1870, a successor appeared in the *Musical Million*, edited by Aldine S. Kieffer, a grandson of Joseph Funk. Joseph Funk died December 24, 1862; the firm of Joseph Funk's Sons continued a number of years longer, being finally succeeded by the Reubush-Kieffer Co., and now by the Joseph K. Ruebush Co., at Dayton, Va.

1859 St.(auffer), J.(acob)
EINE CHRONIK ODER GESCHICHT-BUECHLEIN von der sogenannten Mennonisten Gemeinde . . . . Zweyte Auflage.
Lancaster: Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer und Soehnen. 1859. pp. 439, 12mo. MPH GCL

1859 DAS UNPARTEYISCHE BIBLISCHE FRAGENBUCH zum Gebrauch in Sonntagsschulen u. Familien fuer Kinder-Unterricht. Erster Theil. Erste Auflage.
Milford Square, Bucks County, Pa. Herausgegeben vom Menn. Druck-Verein. 1859. pp. 121, 12mo. SHL SMG
This is the first known piece of Sunday School Literature produced by Mennonites.

1860 Denner, Jacob
JACOB DENNERS CHRISTLICHE UND ERBAULICHE BETRACHTUNGEN . . . . Neue auf Kosten christlicher Freunde gemachte erste amerikanische Auflage, unter der Besorgung von S. B. Musselman . . . .
Philadelphia. Gedruckt bei King und Baird, No. 607 *Sansom-Strasse.* 1860. pp. 1252, 4to. MPH GCL SHL

1860 Funk, Joseph, and Sons
HARMONIA SACRA, being a compilation of Genuine Church Music . . . . By Joseph Funk and Sons . . . . Tenth Edition.
Singers' Glen, Rockingham Co., Va. Published by the authors. 1860. pp. 360, long 8vo. GCL

The address of the firm of Joseph Funk & Sons was changed in March, 1860, from Mountain Valley to Singers' Glen, the government having established a post office changing the name Mountain Valley to Singers' Glen. The change is merely in name not in locality. (This information appears on page 130 of the *Musical Advocate,* the first number bearing the new address being that of March, 1860.)

1860 DIE GEMEINSCHAFTLICHE LIEDERSAMMLUNG . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1860. pp. 342, 16mo. GCL

1860 Musser, Daniel
A COMPARISON OF THE NOMINAL CHURCH with the Scripture Representation of the Church of Christ.
Lancaster, Pa. Elias Barr & Co. Publishers. pp. 56, 8vo. PSL MPH

1860 Oberholtzer, J. H.
DER WAHRE CHARACTER VON J. H. OBERHOLTZER, Prediger und Bischof ueber mehrere Gemeinden in Ost-Pennsylvanien nebst Einsicht und Erkenntniss ueber verschiedene Staende sammt anderen Verhaeltnissen die Christl. Kirche ueberhaupt, so wie die Menn. Gemeinschaft besonders betreffend. (Title on outside cover: VERANTWORTUNG UND ERLAEUTERUNG)
Milford Square, Bucks County, Pa. Herausgegeben vom Verfasser. pp. 115, 16mo. HSP MPH SHL SMG

1860 Eine Unparteiische Liedersammlung zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und der Haeuslichen Erbauung. ***Eph. 5, 6.
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt fuer den Verleger von Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1860. pp. 304, 16mo. MPH GCL
Reprints: Lancaster 1867, 1870, 1876.
Used by the Amish Mennonites.

1861 Dock, Christopher
Eine Einfaeltige und Gruendlich Abgefasste Schulordnung . . . . Neue und Dritte Auflage nach der von Christopher Sauer im Jahre 1770 zu Germantown, Pa. herausgegebene Zweyten Auflage wiedergedruckt und herausgegeben in Columbiana, Ohio in der Druck des Gospel Visitors fuer Jacob Nold, 1861. (pp. 42-44, Kinder-liedlein, Sterbe-Lied.)
Columbiana, Ohio. Herausgegeben in der Druck des Gospel Visitors fuer Jacob Nold. 1861. pp. 44, 8vo. SHL SMG

1861 Funk, Heinrich
Ein Spiegel der Taufe . . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1861. pp. 108, 12mo. SHL

1861 Gemeinde-Ordnung der Deutschen Mennoniten Gemeinde in Summerfield, St. Clair County, Illinois.
Gedruckt in der Druckerei des Christlichen Volksblattes. Milford Square, Bucks Co., Pa. 1861. pp. 36, 8vo. SMG

1862 A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed by John Baer's Sons. 1862. pp. 384, 60, 16mo.

1862 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht . . . . .
Lancaster: Gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1862. pp. 214, 12mo. MPH GCL

1862 Funk, Heinrich
Eine Restitution . . . .Zweyte amerikanische Auflage.
Lancaster, Pa.: Druck und Verlag von Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1862. pp. 489, 8vo. MPH GCL SHL

1862 Holdeman, Johannes
Der Alte Grund und Fundament aus Gottes Wort gefasst und geschrieben durch Johannes Holdeman. **I. Cor. 3, 11. ***2. Ep. Joh. Vers 9.
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt fuer den Verfasser von Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1862. pp. 146, 12mo. GCL SMG
English: Lancaster 1863

1862 Hunzinger, Abraham
Das Religions-, Kirchen-, und Schul-Wesen der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten . . . . (Amerikanische Ausgabe).

Milford Square, Pa. Herausgegeben von dem Menn. Druck-Verein. 1862. pp. 192, 8vo. MPH SHL SMG

This is a reprint of an earlier European Edition printed at Wimpfen, Hesse, Germany, in 1830.

1862 VERHANDLUNGEN DER DIENER-VERSAMMLUNG der Deutschen Taeufer oder Amischen Mennoniten Gehalten in Wayne Caunty, Ohio, im Juny, 1862. Wie auch ein kurzer Bericht von der Herkunft der Mennoniten.

Lancaster, Pa. Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1862. pp. 23, 12mo. SMG

The Amish Conferences were held annually from 1862 until 1876, after which district conferences were organized. The minutes were printed each year in pamphlet form. SMG has a complete set. The *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Deutschen Taeufer oder Mennoniten,* which occupies pp. 19-23 of this first report, is signed S. Z. (Sam Zook of Mifflin County, Pa.), who wrote the historical appendix to Jutzi's *Ermahnungen.*

1863 Brenneman, John M.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR. A Sermon Setting forth the suffering of Christians, the origin and import of the Christian Name, Christianity and war considered, illustrated, and set forth. Also, a short address to the Mennonite Brethren, to which are appended several beautiful and adapted hymns. By a minister of the Old Mennonite Church. *II. Cor. 3, 4.

Chicago. Printed by Chas. Hess Cor. Randolph and Dearborn Sts. 1863. (*Published by John F. Funk, Chicago*) pp. 64, 16mo. SHL SMG

Reprints: English, Elkhart 1868; German, Lancaster 1864, Elkhart 1868.

(1863) DIE CONFERENZVERHANDLUNGEN DER ALLGEMEINEN MENNONITEN-GEMEINSCHAFT IN NORD-AMERIKA Abgehalten in West Point, Lee County, Iowa den 28ten und 29ten Mai, 1860.

n. p. n. d. pp. 24, 8vo. SHL SMG

The pamphlet contains the official minutes of the first three General Conferences, the first one as named above occupying the first 8 pages. The second 8 pages is filled with the minutes of the second conference at Wadsworth, Medina Co., Ohio, May 20-23, 1861. The last 8 pages contain the minutes of the third conference at Summerfield, St. Clair Co., Ill., Oct. 19-24, 1863.

1863 Funk, John F.

WARFARE. ITS EVILS, OUR DUTY. Addressed to the Mennonite Churches throughout the United States, and all others who sincerely seek and love the Truth. By John F. Funk.

Chicago, Ill. Chas. Hess, Printer, No. 93 Randolph St. 1863. (*Published by J. F. Funk*) pp. 16, 32mo. GCL SMG

Reprint: Markham 1863.

These two pamphlets (Funk's own and that of Brenneman) mark the beginning of John F. Funk's notable publishing work in the Mennonite Church. Both were printed in June, 1863 as the result of a visit of Brenneman with Funk in Chicago.

1863 Funk, John F.

WARFARE. ITS EVILS, OUR DUTY . . . .

Markham (Ontario): Printed at the Economist Office. 1863. JFF

An exact reprint of the Chicago pamphlet done by Mennonites in the Markham district.

1863 Holdeman, John
THE OLD GROUND AND FOUNDATION Taken from the Word of God by John Holdeman . . . .
Lancaster, Pa. Printed for the author by John Baer's Sons. 1863. pp. 259, 12, 12mo. SHL
Appendix: A Small Crumb of Truth . . . . by F. Seidner, pp. 12.

1863 KATECHISMUS . . . . Dritte Amerikanische Auflage. (Waldeck)
Milford Square, Bucks Co. Pa. Gedruckt von dem Mennoniten Druck-Verein und herausgegeben von derselben Gemeinschaft. 1863. pp. 105, 16mo. SHL
The Katechismus occupies pp. 1-69. Then follows a constitution or "Ordnung" of the Oberholtzer Mennonite group, pp. 70-105 (including table of contents). The constitution is the same as that found in the 1849 English Catechism and carries the same signatures at the end.

(1863) (Oberholtzer, J. H.)
DIE GESCHICHTE DER TRENNUNG IN 1847 UND 1848 der Mennoniten in Ost-Pennsylvanien.
n. p. n. d. Folio Broadside of four columns. Presumably by Oberholtzer, the original manuscript being in the possession of S. M. Grubb of Philadelphia. GAW

1863 Philips, Dietrich
VON DER EHE DER CHRISTEN Wie sie von Gott eingesetzt und befohlen ist und von den Glaeubigen nach der Schrift gehalten und gebraucht werden muss. Eine schriftliche Beweis.
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1863. pp. 70, 25, 12mo. MPH
Appendix: Nachgelassene Schrift von dem Evangelischen Bann und Meidung Durch S. G. und Dietrich Philipp. Aus dem Franzoeschischen durch C. v. M. und nun aus dem Niederdeutschen in das Hochdeutsche, durch A. L. uebersetzt. **Matth. 28:20 **1I. Cor. 2:11. Von der zu Harlem in 1602 erschienen Ausgabe abgedruckt. pp. 25, 12mo.

(1863) (Sherrick, David)
(BRIEFE ZWISCHEN MENNONITEN IN CANADA UND BADEN, GERMANY)
n. d. n. p. pp. 24, 12mo. SMG
This pamphlet has no title page and bears no date. The preface states that Elias Eby had become acquainted with a Mennonite in Baden through business dealings and then wrote him for information concerning the Mennonites in that region. The reply brought questions concerning the Canadian Mennonites. The answer to these questions was accompanied by still further questions from the Canadian side, which in turn brought a reply from Baden.
After the "Vorrede" of one page, the booklet begins with a reproduction of the ten questions from the Baden elders concerning the Canadian Mennonites which had been addressed to Elias Eby, which occupies two pages. Follows the reply to these questions one by one, together with further questions concerning the Baden Mennonites, in the form of a letter written by David Sherrick and dated at

Preston, Canada West, pp. 4-11. The date is missing, but the letter was evidently written early in 1859 since the following reply states that the letter was received in Baden August 26, 1859. The reply, occupying pages 12-24, is signed by Christian Schmutz, Aeltester in der Gemeinde zu Rappenau, Ulrich Hege von Ober Biegelhof, and Heinrich Landes von Ehrstaedt ("Beide Aeltesten der Gemeinde zu Hasselbach") and is dated at Rappenau, Grossherzogthum Baden, im Monat Juli, 1862. It is addressed to both Sherrick and Eby. A post script states that during the writing a letter had been received from Tilman Mayer of Jordan Postoffice in Lincoln County, Canada West.

1863 Simons, Menno
A Foundation and Plain Instruction . . . . Translated into English by I. Daniel Rupp . . . .
Lancaster, Pa. . . . .
Apparently a reprint of the 1835 edition. A copy could not be located.

1863 Verhandlungen der Zweiten Jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Deutschen Taeufer oder Amischen Mennoniten. Gehalten in Mifflin Caunty, Pennsylvanien. Im May 1863.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1863. pp. 20, 12mo. SMG

1864 Brenneman, J. M.
Das Christenthum und der Krieg. Eine Predigt, die Leiden der Christen darstellend. Der Ursprung und Bedeutung des Christen-Namens, das Christenthum und der Krieg Betrachtet, erlaeutert und dargestellt. Ebenfalls: Eine Kurze Anrede an die Mennoniten-Brueder, welchem beigefuegt sind mehrere schoene und passende Lieder. Von einem Diener der Mennoniten-Gemeinschaft. **2 Cor. 10, 3. 4.
Lancaster, Pa.; Gedruckt bey Johann Baer. 1864. pp. 64, 16mo. HSP
Reprint: Lancaster 1868.

1864 A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs . . . .
Lancaster, Pa.: Printed and Published by John Baer's Sons. 1864. pp. 384, 60, 24mo. GCL

(1864) Funk, George
The Little Hymn Book. A Selection of Hymns from different authors.
Chicago, Ill. Printed at the Office of the "Herald of Truth". Published by George Funk, Bowling Green, Clay Co., Ind. pp. 47, 24mo. JFF

1864 Grater, Abraham
A Brief Church History Concerning the Origin and Progress of the so-called Trinity Christian Church, Freeland, Montgomery County, Pa. Also, somewhat in relation to the Church in General. (At end) Dec. 22, 1864. By Abraham Grater.
n. p. n. d. pp. 4, 12mo. SMG
Grater had been a follower of Oberholtzer but left that group to become an independent.

1864 Grater, Abraham
Eine kurze Kirchen-Geschichte. Etwas vom Anfang und Fortgang

von der sogenannten "Trinity Christian Church" in Freeland, Montgomery County, Pa. wie auch etwas ueber die Kirche im Allgemeinen. (At end) Abraham Graeter, Skippackville, Montgomery Co., Pa. December 22, 1864.

n. p. n. d. pp. 4, 12mo. GCL SMG

1864 THE HERALD OF TRUTH. Devoted to the interests of the Denomination of Christians known as "The Mennonites". A Monthly Religious Paper published in English and German.

Chicago, Illinois. John F. Funk. pp. 4, 10½x15½ in. MPH has a complete file.

The first issue of "The Herald of Truth", the first religious periodical published among the main branch of the Mennonites, appeared in January, 1864. The paper has been in continuous publication to the present time, having been combined with the "Gospel Witness" in 1908 to form the "Gospel Herald", published at Scottdale, Pa. At first a monthly, the journal finally became a weekly. In April it was enlarged to 8 pages. With reduced size of 9x11½ in. it was increased to 16 pages in January, 1867. In May, 1867 the place of publication was changed to Elkhart, Indiana, where Funk had set up a printing establishment of his own. The printing had been done before this time by Chas. Hess of 93 Randolph St., Chicago. In February, 1869, Abram K. Funk entered into partnership with his brother and the publishing firm became John F. Funk & Bro. In 1875 a stock company was organized to take over the assets and work of the firm, and from January, 1876 on the journal was published by this new firm, the Mennonite Publishing Company. John F. Funk remained the editor throughout the entire period of publication in Elkhart having associated with him in later years John S. Coffman and Abram B. Kolb. This journal had a very great influence upon the Mennonite Church in America.

1864 DER HEROLD DER WAHRHEIT

This is the German edition of the "Herald of Truth". Some of the material consisted of translations of leading articles from its English sister, the remainder being German contributions intended for the journal direct. What is said of the *Herald of Truth* above in other respects applies equally to the *Herold der Wahrheit*, except that the German publication was not taken over by the Scottdale publishers, it having been discontinued by Funk in 1901. MPH has a complete file.

1864 Holdeman, John

A REPLY TO THE CRITICISMS OF J. W. ROSEBOROUGH, on the work entitled The Old Foundation, By John Holdeman, V. D. M.

Wooster, Ohio: Printed at the Republican Steam Job Office. 1864. pp. 46, 8vo. GCL

The criticisms of J. W. Roseborough had been published as letters in *The Evangelical Messenger* of Cleveland, Ohio, in October and November, 1864. The reply by Holdeman is in the form of letters which were refused publication in the *Messenger.*

1864 Musser, Daniel

NON-RESISTANCE ASSERTED or the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of the World separated, and No Concord Between Christ and Belial. In two parts. By Daniel Musser.

Lancaster, Pa. Elias Barr & Co. Publishers. Pearsol and Geist, Printers. 1864. pp. 74, 8vo. HSP PSL MPH SHL SMG

1864 Eine Unparteiische Liedersammlung.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen.

1864 Verhandlungen der dritten jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Deutschen Taeufer oder Amischen Mennoniten, gehalten nahe bey Goschen, Elkhart Caunty, Indiana, Im Juny 1864.
Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1864. pp. 23, 12mo. SMG

1865 Grater, Abraham
A Discourse on Abraham Lincoln. Rev. Abr. Grater.
Skippackville, Pa. 1865. pp. 8, 12mo. SMG

1865 Grater, Abraham
Eine Rede in Erinnerung Abraham Lincolns. Abr. Grater.
Schippachville, Pa. 1865. pp. 8, 12mo. HSP SHL SMG

1865 Holdeman, Johannes
Eine Vertheidigung gegen die Verfaelscher unseren Schriften wie auch eine Erklaerung und Erlaeuterung . . . .
Lancaster: pp. 43, 12mo.

1865 Unparteyisches Gesangbuch . . . . Sechste verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Anhang.
Lancaster: Gedruckt und verlegt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1865. *Stereotypirt bey S. Douglas Wyeth, Pear Strasse Nr. 7, Philadelphia.* pp. 483, 19, 8vo. GCL

1865 Verhandlungen der Vierten jaehrlichen Diener-Versammlung der Deutschen Taeufer oder Amischen Mennoniten, gehalten in Wayne Caunty, Ohio, im Juny 1865.
Lancaster, Pa.: Gedruckt bey Johann Baer's Soehnen. 1865. pp. 9, 12mo. SMG

1866 Bericht der Verhandlungen der fuenften jaehrlichen Zusammenkunft der Amischen Mennoniten-Diener und Bruederschaft, gehalten den 20, 21, 22, und 23. Mai 1866, in der Naehe von Danvers, McLean Co., Illinois.
Gedruckt in der Office des "Herolds der Wahrheit", No. 91 und 93 Randolph Strasse, Chicago, Illinois. pp. 16, 16mo. GCL SMG

1866 Calendar fuer die Versammlungen der Menn. Gemeinden in Canada West und im Staat New York. Zum 31sten mal herausgegeben.
Berlin: Rittinger und Moss. 1866. pp. 27, 24mo. JFF

1866 Gemeinschaftlicher Verein der Mennoniten zur Ersetzung von Brandschaden.
(*Berlin, Canada*). pp. 3, 12mo. GAW
Contains the account of the organization and the first by-laws of this first Mennonite Mutual Fire Insurance Aid Society, with a list of charter members. Revised copies of the statutes in German are known of 1876, 1893, and English of 1881.

1866 GLAUBENSLEHRE UND KIRCHENZUCHT-ORDNUNG der Evangel. Mennoniten Gemeinschaft von Ost-Pennsylvanien Mit beygefuegter Constitution der Missions-Gesellschaft.

Druck von A. E. Dambly, Skippackville, Pa. 1866. pp. 48, 12mo. SHL SMG

A publication of the Gehman faction which withdrew from the Eastern District Conference (Oberholtzer) and is now a part of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. Glaubenslehre, pp. 1-34; Constitution, pp. 35-48.

1866 ORGANIZATION UND REGELN der Pennsylvanischen Mennoniten Missions-Gesellschaft. May 31, 1866.

n. p. n. d. Folio Broadside. 12x22 in. SMG

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In the preparation of the above list several titles were discovered, which may have been of Mennonite origin but concerning which it was impossible to come to a definite conclusion. These titles are listed below.

1839 EIN UNPARTEYISCHES GESANG-BUCH, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes. Mit einem doppelten Register.

Canton, Ohio. Gedruckt bey Peter Kaufmann und Co. 1839. pp. 320, 16mo. GCL

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It has been suggested that this is a hymn-book of the Church of the Brethren (Dunkard). The GCL has two copies, one of which comes from the Amish Mennonite Community in Wayne County, Ohio, the other from the similar community in Fulton County, Ohio.

1854 Niess, Johannes.
EINE WAHRE UND SCHRIFTMAESSIGE DARSTELLUNG DER WAHREN GEMEINDE oder Kirche Christi auf Erden von Johannes Niess.

Dayton, O. Gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei der Vereinigten Brueder in Christo. 1854. pp. 56, 12mo. SMG

1854 Niess, John
A TRUE SCRIPTURAL REPRESENTATION OF TEMPERANCE AND INTEMPERANCE By John Niess.

Canton, O. Printed by Kliphart & Webb. 1854. pp. 32, 12mo. SMG

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Verification of the following titles or editions could not be secured.

1839 Burkholder, Christian. Godliness, Doctrine and Practise.

1846 Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht, Berlin.

1851 Unparteyisches Gesangbuch, New Berlin, Pa.

1854 Ditto, New Berlin, Pa.

1863 Simons, Menno. The True Christian Faith, Philadelphia.

1864 Brenneman, H. B.
"WHY STAND YE HERE ALL THE DAY IDLE?"
Hymn and music by H. B. Brenneman of Bremen, Fairfield County, Ohio. Published in the *Herald of Truth* for October, 1864. Later on reported

in the same periodical as having been printed and for sale of the author in sheet form at five cents.

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The following items are known to have been published but no further data concerning them could be found.

MEETING CALENDAR for the Churches in Canada and New York (German), 1836-1866.

A B C BUCHSTABIR- UND LESEBUCH. Two editions at Berlin before 1847

A COMPILATION OF GENUINE CHURCH MUSIC. One edition between 1832 and 1842.

HARMONIA SACRA. Five editions between 1847 and 1860, and three between 1860 and 1871.

A COLLECTION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, AND SPIRITUAL SONGS. One edition between 1847 and 1855.

* * * *

Definite data concerning the following are at hand, but as yet no copies have been located.

1842 A Compilation of Genuine Church Music, Harrisonburg, Wartman & Way.

1847 A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. Harrisonburg.

1855 Ditto, Harrisonburg.

1862 Ditto, Lancaster.

1863 Simons, Menno. A Foundation and Plain Instruction, Lancaster.

1864 Eine Unparteyische Liedersammlung, Lancaster.

1865 Holdeman, Johannes. Vertheidigung gegen die Verfaelscher unserer Schriften, Lancaster.

—— Ein Brief von A. Horst an Ulrich Steiner in der Schweiz. (Date unknown. However it must have been issued before 1877, the year of Steiner's death.)

1865 DER CHRISTLICHE SAENGER.

This song-book was regularly advertised in the *Herald of Truth* from March, 1865 on by Samuel K. Cassel, Moyer's Store, Bucks Co., Pa. It is described in the advertisement as "A Collection of the best and most useful Hymns in German, for public and private worship, adapted especially to the use of the Mennonite denomination". Further information about the book could not be secured. J. F. Funk believes that the book was prepared by Mr. Cassel himself, a Mennonite.

Further information on any of the titles listed above will be gratefully received.

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Since publication of the bibliography of Mennonite books printed in America before 1827, one additional item has been found for that period, namely an edition of "Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht" at Wooster, Ohio, in 1826.

1826 DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT . . . .
Wooster, (Ohio.) Gedruckt bey Johann Sala. 1826. pp. 241, 32mo. GCL

Reviews and Notes

BOOKS

Gedenkschrift zum 400 jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten 1525-1925. Herausgegeben von der Konferenz der Sueddeutschen Mennoniten, E(ingeschriebener V(erein). Ludwigshafen a. Rh., 1925. (Edited by Dr. Chr. Neff).

Seven separate contributions form the Jubilee Volume which the German Mennonites of Swiss extraction published in celebration of the 400th Anniversary of their beginning. These are the titles:

1. Dr. phil. *E. Crous,* The Religious Life of the Later Middle Ages as Reflected in Pamphlets of the Fifteenth Century.
2. Lic. theol. *B. Unruh,* Revolution and Anabaptism.
3. Dr. theol., Dr. phil. *W. Koehler,* The Zurich Anabaptists.
4. Dr. theol. *Chr. Neff,* Conrad Grebel.
5. Dr. phil. *J. Loserth,* Studies on Pilgram Marbeck:
   a. Marbeck until his departure from Tirol.
   b. Marbeck in Strassburg.
   c. Marbeck and Schwenkfeld.
   d. The beginning of the controversy between Schwenkfeld and Marbeck.
   e. The "Judicium" of Schwenkfeld and the "Reply" by Marbeck.
   f. Remarks on the sources of Marbeck's "Reply". Appendix.
6. *Chr. Hege,* Marbeck's "Admonition".
7. *Chr. Hege,* The distribution of the Mennonites over the world.

For the Swiss Brethren in Germany this volume represents the first official publication on their history. Until 1925 anniversaries were not celebrated by the group; only lately have they awakened to their history. Unfortunately this Jubilee volume does not give a solid history of the Swiss Anabaptists. There are of course many reasons for this, the chief being that the sources of information are not sufficiently assembled and later history in particular still presents difficult problems. A complete survey of the history of the Swiss Brethren, therefore, would have been unobtainable. It should be the earnest desire of all Mennonites to produce a universal history of their Church in their own circle regardless of anniversaries.

We are of course interested in the Jubilee volume as it deals with the origin of the Swiss movement, out of which came Mennonitism. Only two contributions discuss this matter. Prof. W. Koehler gives a rapid survey of the Zurich Anabaptists and Dr. Chr. Neff furnishes a biographical sketch of Conrad Grebel.

The opening articles present more general studies. The first by *Dr. Ernst Crous* on "Das religios-kirchliche Leben des ausgehenden Mittelalters im Spiegel der Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts", pages 9-18, has no direct bearing on Anabaptism. Dr. Crous, who comes from the Mennonite Church in Crefeld, Germany, is a member of the staff of the Prussian library in Berlin, and an expert on early prints, called *incunabula.* Here he deals with those which were pamphlets or hand bills. Does Dr. Crous not know that he touches a problem which has been of interest ever since Ludwig Keller endeavored to show that the Anabaptists could be traced through the middle ages back to primitive Christianity? It would have served the purpose of the Jubilee volume to take the study of early pamph-

lets as one of the sources of light on the question. Keller in *Die Reformation und die aelteren Reformparteien,* Leipzig, 1885, (especially pages 317ff on the revival of old evangelical literature) offers many doubtful suggestions on this point. Indeed, if there were any such connections in the sense of Ludwig Keller early printing would throw light upon them. The printing press, as recent researches by Dr. Karl Schottenloher of the Bavarian State Library prove, was for all the dissenters a cherished instrument of protest. Only once in his treatment does Dr. Crous mention radical groups. On page 15 he refers to the Waldenses and to the Hussites. Unfortunately he keeps us ignorant about the sources. So although the study is scholarly without doubt, the student in Mennonite History will miss the Problemstellung. However, this is not the author's field, and we do not therefore fail to appreciate the convenient compression of a very difficult mass of material, material which must be studied by any one who wishes information about the background of Anabaptism.

Quite another bearing has the contribution by Lic. Theol. *Benjamin Unruh* on "Die Revolution und das Taeufertum", pages 19-47. There could hardly be any better opening subject for this book. The author reveals a clear line of approach to the study of the intricate social-political situation surrounding the rise of Anabaptism. Certain historians have superficially examined the movement for voluntary Protestant communities and have attempted to attribute it to the revolution of a suppressed peasantry and the "underdog" in the cities. In this connection the activities of a small group representing the extreme party of the Anabaptists have been broadcast as the leading feature. However, honest research has discarded this interpretation which had been officially used for centuries to discredit the Anabaptist movement. Impartial historians have proved that the broad stream of Anabaptism was spiritually radical rather than socially radical. Yet there are still scholars who know no more of Anabaptism than the odd story of Muenster and nothing at all about Anabaptism in general. Unruh's alert discussion will be of service in popularizing the finding that "Muenzer and Muenster" have nothing to do with the Anabaptist movement at large. Mr. Unruh has had his own experiences in the conflict between the religious conscience and political forces. As one of the leaders of the Mennonites in Russia he participated in their severe trials during the World War and the Russian Revolution. His judgment of historical facts is nourished by personal experiences. We are glad to note therefore that he plans a broad discussion of the subject "Anabaptism and the State". His realistic picture here is a good forecast of what we may expect of him who is in one person a poet and a scholar. His lucid exposition indicates a new and effective method of presenting the conscientious objector in his historical power. Thus this contribution has an immediate ethical significance.

Prof. *W. Koehler's* contribution on "Die Zuericher Taeufer", pages 48-64, is based on Emil Egli's researches. Dr. Koehler acts as an umpire between the two opposing views of Troeltsch and Holl. Troeltsch, the late church historian and Professor of Philosophy of Religion in the University of Berlin, who emancipated church history from church bias, finds "Anabaptism" as "important" for his school as any state church organiza-

tion. This attitude was checked somewhat by Karl Holl, the late Lutheran church historian of the University of Berlin. Holl justifies the attitude which all the "legalized" leaders of the reformation took in opposing Anabaptism. Troeltsch saw the very beginning of Anabaptism—as Koehler does not really deny—in Zurich, and discounts the influence of Carlstadt, Muenzer and others. Prof. Koehler tries to balance both views. It is of importance to him, however, to state that "geistesgeschichtliche" connections did exist between the religio-political revolutionists of Middle Germany and the Zurich group. In order to prove this Koehler presents archival material dealing with the reformation in Basel. We learn that Felix Manz and Gerhard Westerburg arranged for the reprinting of Carlstadt's pamphlets in Basel in the early fall of 1524. Koehler also uses Zwingli to show how the pamphlets of Carlstadt were distributed in the Zurich territory. Thus, says Koehler, while adult baptism was first administered in Zurich this fact does not disprove the connection there was between the Zurich Anabaptists and the German Revolutionists. Conrad Grebel, naturally, should bear testimony on that relation too. He does so in a letter to Thomas Muenzer written just shortly before Manz arranged for the reprint of Carlstadt's booklets. (An English version with introduction by Rauschenbusch in the *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1905.) However Grebel's letter is against Thomas Muenzer and not in accord with him. The outstanding principles of the Grebel group are just the opposite of what Muenzer aimed at. Carlstadt's booklets concerned the interpretation of the Lord's Supper. In this point, however, there was no difference between Zwingli's view and that of the Anabaptists. The main issue between them was not this question but the problem of the believers' church separate from the world under the direction of the Gospel and the patterns of primitive Christianity. In this we have an independent platform genuinely original with the Grebel group. They had no use for Muenzer's political radicalism. The letter referred to above makes this difference very distinct. It seems strange that this evidence is so little taken into account. As far as we know there was no measurable relationship between the Swiss and German radicals. Take for instance the results of Dr. O. Schiff's investigation on "Thomas Muenzer und die Bauernbewegung am Oberrhein" in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1912, volume 110, pages 67ff. Schiff proves that there was hardly any personal contact between the Anabaptists and Muenzer when the latter came to the south and crossed the Swiss border. In his review of my study on the Swiss Anabaptists in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, number 4, 1926, Koehler emphasizes his point still more strongly; he opposes the idea that the main body of the Zurich Anabaptists took their new rules simply from direct Bible reading. But there is proof that even the influence of educated leaders, like Conrad Grebel, was limited. All documents of the original movement make this evident. In the reports of the various disputations between the Zwinglian clergy and the Anabaptists the latter do not refer in a single instance to literary authorities or sources. Their sole authority is the Bible. Only once, in a disputation at Berne, Switzerland, in 1538, is Conrad Grebel mentioned and then only to refer to his separation from the world. We refer to this only to clear up the point in Prof. Koehler's

essay. In spite of this criticism, we regard his contribution as a real restitution for all the wrong written against the Anabaptists through centuries by men of Koehler's position. He even deals fairly with the attitude of the Anabaptists towards authority. He rightly rejects the common crude judgment regarding the so-called communism for which the Zurich Anabaptists were blamed. We must say that we prefer this Koehler to the one who speaks in his article commemorating the beginning of Anabaptism in the *Neue Zuricher Zeitung* of January 15, 1927.

The portrait of Conrad Grebel by *Christian Neff,* pages 65-133, is successful in making this intricate personality intelligible. It is based on printed material only. (The preparation for a complete edition of all the published and unpublished material concerning Grebel by Prof. Bender and the writer naturally has furnished a great many details with which Neff's study could be enriched and partly corrected.) This essay saves the Jubilee volume from straying too far from its chief object. An appendix reproduces Grebel's Letter of Protest and Defense of December, 1524 which was published in English in the *Review Supplement* of January, 1926. Dr. Neff has done pioneer work.

Nearly half of the book (148 of 287 pages) is devoted to valuable material by Prof. *J. Loserth* and *Chr. Hege* on Pilgram Marbeck, a rather unknown leader of the Anabaptists in South Germany. Here we have a thoroughly documented account of Marbeck and moreover a reprint of his *Vermahnung*, pages 185-282. This makes the Jubilee volume a real source book. It is astonishing that in spite of his writings Marbeck is rather unknown in the Anabaptist tradition. We owe this discovery to Prof. Johann Loserth, church historian at the University of Graz, Austria. Marbeck's *Vermahnung* presents the principles of the peaceful Anabaptists. Unfortunately the bridge between them and the South German Brethren is rather difficult to trace. Everything which helps to clear up this obscure passage is most welcome. A few years ago John Horsch discovered the *Vermahnung* in the British Museum in London. The Mennonite Historical Library in Scottdale contains a photostatic copy of its 200 pages. Only two specimens of the book are known to exist so far. It was published in 1542 in a period of heavy persecution. In this book Marbeck mentions some Anabaptists of whom *Chr. Hege* relates interestingly in his introduction to the *Vermahnung,* pages 178-285. Among these Anabaptists were several who are known as poets of hymns in the *Ausbund,* the "Dicke Liederbuch" of the Amish brethren. The *Vermahnung* was attacked by Caspar Schwenkfeld in his *Judicium.* Marbeck and Schwenkfeld were competitors in their propaganda among the cultured classes in South Germany and Prof. Loserth considers the *Judicium* as a large scale attempt to cut off the south German evangelical communities from Anabaptism. In his introduction he gives all the essentials and details gained from various archives (pages 134-178). In an appendix (pages 174-178) he reproduces the epistle of Marbeck to Schwenkfeld of 1544 which refers to the *Vermahnung* of 1542.

The personality of Marbeck, the Menno Simons of the South, here comes to light. He was no theologian by profession, but represents a type of early Anabaptists who became enthusiastic followers of the Sermon on

the Mount converted by other than theological experiences. Furthermore he belonged to the humanist circle and proved a capable engineer in the mines of Tirol and later for the city of Strassburg. Marbeck saw life, saw and experienced it in the stress of the economic struggle of the early 16th century. Thus his personality and his environment show how Anabaptism gave real hope of remedy for the evils of suffering society in that time.

Dr. Loserth's contribution was written during the 40th year of his admirable researches on Anabaptism. Until the World War his work (which is rather expensive because of the scattered archives) was adequately financed by Austria. Through the efforts of Chr. Hege he has since been supported to some extent. Assistance is being sought also in America. Unfortunately the contributions so far have been scarcely sufficient, especially to finance Loserth's preparation of an edition of Marbeck's *Verantwortung,* with which Professor Loserth, now past eighty, would like to crown his work. $1000 are needed to finance the editing work by Loserth and to have Marbeck's Testimony to the "Faith of our Fathers" printed. (Cf. Chr. Hege, "An important Taeufer manuscript of the 16th century" transl. by H. Weber, Christ. Exponent, May 8, 1925 and H. S. Bender, "The prospective edition of Marbeck's Verantwortung" in the Review Suppl. Jan. 1926.) Mennonites the world over should stand together in support of this work, and thereby not only do themselves a great service but also express their appreciation for the services of Dr. Loserth.

Mennonite statistics, even a mere account of geographical distribution, is a difficult subject. *Christian Hege,* the well-informed editor of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* closes the Jubilee volume with a statistical report concerning the Mennonites throughout the world, pages 282-287. His figures are "rough and ready" and obviously not intended for critical study. It serves well the purpose of the book by making known the numerical significance of Mennonitism. We are told of 173,800 Mennonites in Europe, 283,000 in America, 39,500 in Asia.

It would have been well in line with the occasion of the book, to emphasize the statistics of the Mennonites of Swiss extraction. A presentation of the Mennonite distribution on a world map would also have been an interesting feature. But all that would have called for more money, time, and strength than could be afforded.

Goshen, Indiana. Ernst Correll.

[Editor's Note: We learn, to our regret, that the Jubilee volume has not sold as well as might have been expected and that the financial burden for the same rests heavily upon the South German Mennonite Conference. May this review contribute to its increased sale in America. It deserves wider support.]

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The Problem of Origins. By LEANDER S. KEYSER, A. M., D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Hamma Divinity School, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, author of *Man's First Disobedience, Contending for the Faith, A System of Christian Evidence, A System of General Ethics,* etc. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1926. pp. 265.

In this book Dr. Keyser gives "a frank discussion of the doctrines of Creation and Evolution" centering his arguments on three pivotal questions: "Whence came the universe?", "Whence came life and species?", "Whence came man?". With consummate skill he exalts the biblical record by showing that when the Bible is allowed to speak for itself its doctrines are adequate, reasonable, and inspiring.

To a careful student of science the crucial importance of the proper explanation of the origin of the universe, life, species, and of man in an investigation of the truth or falsity of evolution is clearly seen. The author plunges into his thesis by giving a precise definition and differentiation of the terms "creation" and "evolution". The word "creation" means "the bringing into existence of an entity or a principle or a force that had no prior existence". Technically, it is known as *creatio ex nihilo.* "The expression 'creative evolution,'" says Keyser, "is a contradiction of terms and of thought". The term "evolution" is used in its strictly scientific sense, being as Le Comte says, "a continuous progressive change, according to certain fixed laws and by means of resident forces".

The author expresses the "firm and sincere conviction, after years of study and experience, that the Bible and true science are in amicable accord". Accordingly at the beginning of his work he notes, by means of a constructive interpretation, the kind of appeal which the biblical doctrine makes to our reason and judgment. Dr. Keyser in most admirable apologetic style does show that this appeal is adequate, and satisfying to reason. In the stately and comprehensive statement, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth", he finds an adequate First Cause, God, and a Divine act, creation, which afford "a secure resting place for the earnest and inquiring soul". How barren is the materialistic world-view, which does not posit a supreme Intelligence and divine Personality as the First Cause but rests rather upon the belief in the eternity of matter, making those higher realities—mind, soul, spirit—nonexistent or only epiphenomenal! Christian theism on the other hand "makes use of at least three capital terms in accounting for the universe—creation, miracle, and development".

The Bible teaches that the world was originally created good and happy. Concerning His completed work God pronounced the verdict, "very good". Man's primitive habitat was a garden, and not a jungle. Neither man nor animals were created carnivorous. But how repulsive is the picture of primitive man drawn by Mr. H. G. Wells, of a creature filthy and beastly, a creature not known to science and wholly imaginary to its creator, Mr. Wells!

But there is something radically wrong with man. Science attempts to account for it by ascribing this depravity to man's animal nature. But

our author finds that the animal world does not reveal the traits of selfishness and meanness, or more correctly *sin,* as found in man. The Bible explains the problem profoundly in the lapse of our first parents and the consequent blight that fell on all creation. Moreover, the Holy Writ records a coming age of restitution: "We look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

With such a regimen geology is in perfect agreement. A first hand study of the rocks reveals the fallacy of the generally accepted taxonomy of the various strata of the fossiliferous rocks. On the basis of undeniable evidence the author comes to the conclusion: "No geologist can prove by an appeal to the fossils and rocks that the lower forms of life came first and that the higher forms followed in clocklike order. Therefore, no geologist can prove that one form was evolved from another." Geological evidence points rather to a great cataclysm, perhaps the Noachian deluge, which may have affected "even the relative position of the earth to the sun, may have caused many upheavals of the earth, the removal of vast sections from place to place, and the covering of plants, great forests, animals and men deep beneath the ground and rocks."

"Whence came life and species" in view of the limitations of physical science on this problem? Dr. Keyser contends that we must use some other method for its solution. To this method of approach the reviewer desires to call special attention. It is empirical. It gives an adequate solution. The argument stands in this form: "The Bible is a great and good book, exercising a most salutary influence upon the world; it teaches that origins came by direct acts of divine creation; these facts constitute a strong reason in favor of that view of origins. In the absence of scientific demonstration of any other method of bringing something new into existence, no good reason for rejecting the biblical doctrine can be assigned." Furthermore, from a philosophical point of view "the theory that the universe evolved out of nothing is *a priori* absurd and impossible. The view that matter is eternal, and that it evolved into something higher and finer than itself by means of resident forces is, on the face of it, utterly untenable, and in total contradiction to the law of causality."

Who was the real dawn man? The author's answer is as follows: "According to the Scriptures, interpreted in the clear, honest, literal sense, the real dawn man and woman were brought into existence by a direct act of divine creation." It is indeed refreshing to read Dr. Keyser's lucid exegesis of the Scriptural account of creation. The author of Genesis used with precision the Hebrew verbs *asah* to make, *bara* to create, *tsamach* to shoot or spring forth, *yatsar* to fashion, etc. Concerning the "rib story" Dr. Keyser thinks that "it is possible to find greater depths in this ancient recital than the superficial reader is likely to detect." He interprets it thus: "God took of both the *somatic and psychical seminal substance* of the man, and from it He builded the woman, thus causing her to belong genetically to the Genus homo."

That man is created in the image of God is an inspiring doctrine. Man like his Maker is a person, with self-consciousness and egoity; has intellect, sensibility, and will; and has a moral and spiritual nature. Dr. Keyser protests strongly against the low materialistic view of man's funda-

mental makeup. Instead of emphasizing the homologies existing between man and his animal neighbors why not stress the differences? "Let our psychologists give more attention to man's higher intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties, instead of dwelling so much on mere brain organism, neurones, glands, and molecular action." Qualitatively man is greater than the universe even though as a sinner he is unworthy.

In direct antagonism to all this is the dawn man of evolution. Evidence is lacking for the arboreal life of man's ancestors, nor does geology afford any consolation. The meager fossil remains prove nothing. No one can explain why the ape failed to make progress. The dawn man of evolution is an imaginary being.

Dr. Keyser next locks horns with Prof. E. G. Conklin, proving that the Princeton professor has misjudged the present uprising against evolution. Instead of its being "a curious recrudescence of the old theological fight of fifty years ago," Dr. Keyser maintains that in the present conflict the opponents of evolution demand sound empirical demonstration. The most serious defect of evolution is seen in its religion. To quote Prof. Conklin's words: "The religion of evolution deals with this world rather than the next. But the Christian religion is broader and better because it instructs mankind regarding both this world and the next."

A chapter is devoted to "Pertinent Points on Evolution" in which the author discusses: "Some Fatal Admissions of the Evolutionists", "What the Birds Teach about Evolution", "Whence Came the Vital Germ?", "The Evolution of the Horse", "The Overdone Vestige Theory", and other topics of similar nature.

He calls attention to the changing views of the scientists, which ought to make them recognize, in the words of Dr. L. T. More, that "they are living in glass houses and that it is dangerous to throw stones".

Further attention is paid to homologies and other data in which the author points to the unbridgeable chasm separating man from the brute. Man is a self-conscious being and possesses conscience, free will and a spiritual faculty. Physical differences also dare not be minimized.

The closing chapter constitutes a critique of the recent authoritative work on evolution entitled "The Evolution of Man", by Professors Lull, Ferris, Parker, Angell, Keller, and Conklin. "The treatment of the subject," says Keyser, "is wholly naturalistic." Much must be conjectured and in the end the data presented are found to be wholly inadequate to prove the thesis of the book.

The reviewer has practically no adverse criticism to offer. When a splendid piece of work is accomplished, it is no time to pick minor flaws. At a few places it appears to the reviewer that the argument might be strengthened a bit, and a few repetitions attract one's attention. But these do not detract from the forceful message presented. Most heartily is the work commended to the earnest and thoughtful student. In it he will find doubts removed, faith strengthened, and God glorified.

Harrisonburg, Virginia. Chester K. Lehman.